Mr. Poole



Detroit April 28th 1869

99486
4668
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H6

Honorable Hamilton Fish
Secretary of State &c
Washington D.C.

Sir I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 23 instant, informing me that the President had appointed me Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States to China. and requesting me to acquaint you with my acceptance of the same and of the Country in which I was born. In reply I have the honor to inform you that I was born in Vermont United States. That I hereby accept the appointment to which you refer & that on the 28 instant I filed in the Department of State the required Oath of Office

I am Very Respectfully
Your Obt Servant
Wm A Howard

Wm Batt

No 1



Detroit Mich May 1st 1869

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 28th ultimo (Marked No 1.) with inclosures as stated. Returning Copy of letter of Credit on Bankers London England, Marked "Duplicate" I herewith inclose Original with my signature as requested

I Am Sir

Your obedient Servant

Wm A Howard

Honorable

Hamilton Fish

Sec of State

Washington

D.C.

P.S. I have not at hand, Specimen of signature sign. Batt

RECEIVED
MAY 27
1869

Ans 2 yes 2nd June Mr Pinto

No 2. Detroit May 24th 1869

Sir

The complications of my private business, and the situation of my family make it difficult for me to depart for China at present I therefore have to request that you will grant me leave of absence for such indefinite period as shall suit my convenience to be terminated, however, by the President whenever in his opinion, the public interests shall require it. When the President shall see fit to revoke the furlough hereby requested, I shall be prepared either to take my immediate departure or to ask the acceptance of my resignation.

I am Sir Very Respectfully
Your Obt Servant

Wm A Howard

Honorable
Hamilton Fish
Sec of State &c

Mr. Bratt

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
RECEIVED
OCT 16 1869

San Francisco Oct 8th 1869

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of yours of 29th ultimo notifying me of my appointment as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States to China.

In reply I have to say that, I accept the appointment; and shall at an early day present myself at your Department for the purpose of receiving such instructions as the President may be pleased to give, prior to taking my departure for China

I have further to inform

To/
Hon Hamilton Fish
Secy of State
Secy of State

know that I was born in
the United States

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant

Frederick F. Low

[illegible] day of [illegible]



Mr. Platt.

No 1



Washington Jany 5th 1870

Sir:—

I have the honor to inform you that I take my departure today for China via New York and San Francisco

I am, Sir
Your obedient servant
Frederick F. Low
U.S. Minister to China

To/
Hon Hamilton Fish
Secy of State

Exact Fund

No 82.

file

Mr Batt

Mr S. Wells Williams

DEPARTMENT RECEIVED JUL 21 1870 OF STATE

To Hon. Hamilton Fish

Peking, April 13. 1870

Subject.

Exchange and publication of Treaty.

The contingency alluded to in your dispatch No: 9 of Feb. 9th had been previously discussed, and the Chinese officers were to make no demand for my special powers. In immediately proclaiming the Treaty, I followed the practice of Mr Ward, who published the Treaty of Tientsin as soon as he had completed its arrangements.

No: 82

Legation of the United States.

Peking, April 13th 1870

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge your dispatch No: 9, dated February 9, 1870, approving of my action in exchanging the ratifications of the Additional Articles to the Treaty of June 1858, with the Commissioner appointed by the Emperor for that purpose. The contingency to which you allude, - of the Chinese officials doubting my authority to make the exchange, - had been - previously discussed with them, as

To

Hon. Hamilton Fish,

Secretary of State.

as you will see in my dispatch No. 65 of Oct. 1. 1869; and was again brought up in November, before the notes which passed between me and Tung Siun, given in my report of the exchange (No. 69) had been written. I was assured that no Power to make the exchange would be asked for, as he knew that I had none. It would be sufficient authority to the Chinese Government for all that I should do in the premises, that I was in charge of the United States' Legation at Peking, and the only functionary properly invested with that duty; and also the known wishes of the American Government to have the exchange effected. The propositions coming from the Chinese, therefore,

to

to complete the ratification, with full knowledge of all the circumstances, no question as to my authority to act could arise.

In immediately publishing the treaty by proclamation, I merely followed the example of Mr Ward, who thus published the Treaty of Tientsin on the 8th of November 1859 (see his dispatch No. 22 Nov 19. 1859) as soon as he had exchanged the ratifications and arranged the preliminaries with the Chinese officers. No objection was made to this procedure, so far as the Archives here show; and the Treaty went into effect in China on the first of January 1860, though it was not proclaimed by the President till the 26th day of that month. If I made a mistake in

proclaiming

proclaiming the additional articles,
this is the precedent which I followed
and gives the reasons for doing it. If
I had waited till I heard of the
proclamation at Washington, the
interval of nearly five months, which
would have elapsed after they had been
published by the Emperor's orders,
might have perhaps puzzled his officers
and seemed to cast a doubt upon the
validity of the ratification. Certainly,
no harm has come from its having
been immediately published in
China; and I do not know that
any would have come if it had not
been proclaimed till this time

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your Obedient Servant,
S. Wells Williams

Encl 1 to No 2

Ack Acknowledged
Mr. Bates

No. 2



Hon. F. F. Low

To Department of State.

Peking. April 20. 1870

Subject.

Arrival in Peking

Before leaving Shanghai, I visited the consular ports on the Yangtsz R. I reached Peking yesterday, and have assumed the duties of my office this day; the letter of credence will be presented to Prince Kung in a few days.

Legation of the United States,
Peking, April 20. 1870.

Sir,

I have the honor to inform you of my arrival at this place on the 19th inst. and that, today, I took possession of the archives, seals, &c., of this Legation, and assumed the duties of the office to which I had been appointed.

On my arrival at Shanghai on the 7th ult., I learned that the water approaches to Peking were still closed by ice, and that it would be impracticable to undertake the journey hither till the beginning of April. I therefore concluded to employ the month of unoccupied time intervening in visiting the treaty ports upon the Yangtz River. The trip proved to be one of great interest, and my personal observations give me a much more accurate knowledge of this immense interior water communication, the present business, and the wants of the future, than any amount

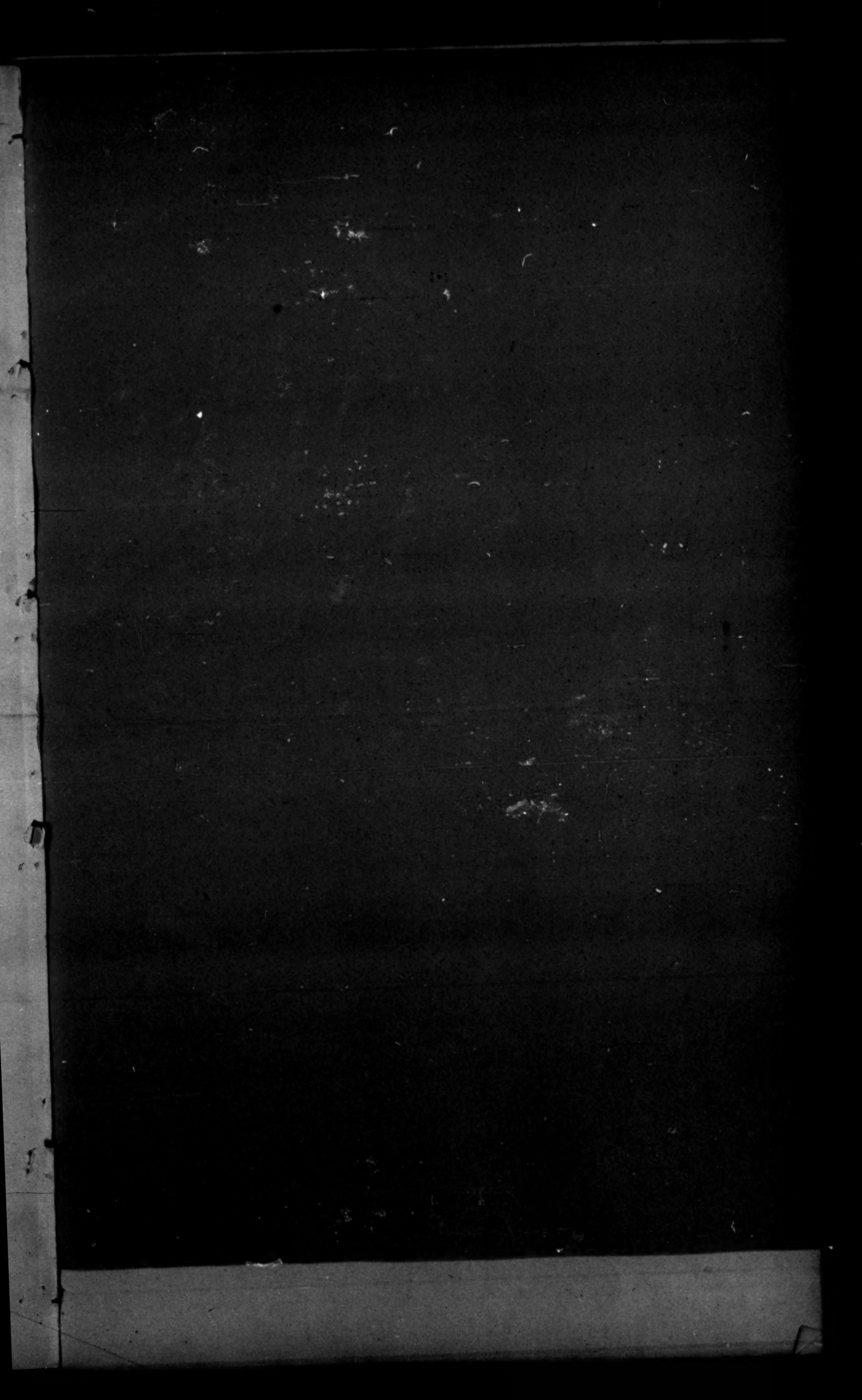
of

Hon. Hamilton Fish
Secretary of State.

of correspondence could possibly do, During my trip I visited the ports of Chinkiang, Kiukiang and Hankow, and had extended interviews with the consuls at their posts. Any extended remarks concerning the value and importance of the trade of the country bordering on, and tributary to this vast river, as well as its navigation by foreign-built and foreign-owned steamers, is reserved for a future dispatch

On the 7th inst. I left Shanghai for this city via Chefu and Tientsin, arriving here, as before stated, on the 19th inst. Notification of my arrival has been sent to the Foreign Office, with a request that a time be fixed for a personal audience for the purpose of presenting my letter of credence. An answer may be expected in two or three days.

I have the honor to be,
Sir
Your Obedient Servant
Frederick F. Low



Enld

acknowledged

ack

Mr. Pratt

No 3. --- 4 Enclosures



Frederick F Low

— To —

Department of State

Peking May 6th 1870

Giving an account of his first visit to Prince Kung and the members of the Foreign Office; the presentation of his letter of credence, and the visit, in return, of the Chinese officials

No 3. - - - 4 Enclosures

Legation of the United States
Peking May 6. 1870

Sir:-

On the 20th ultimo Mr S. Wells Williams addressed a note to Prince Kung. (Enclosure a) announcing my arrival and informing him that all the business of the Legation had been transferred to me. To this Prince Kung replied on the 26th ultimo (enclosure B)

On the 27th April agreeably to appointment, Mr and Hamilton Fish accompanied

Secretary of State

accompanied by Mr Williams
the ~~Secretary~~ of Legation and
Interpreter, I paid the usual
visit to Prince Kung and the
members of the Foreign Office,
for the purpose of delivering
the original letter of the President,
accrediting me as Envoy
Extraordinary and Minister
Plenipotentiary of the United States
to reside near this Court
The audience was had in the
hall usually occupied on such
occasions, and is styled by the
Chinese, the Yămen We were
met by Prince Kung and six
members of the Foreign Office,
who were accompanied by Dr

W.

W. A. Martin, as Interpreter for the Chinese.

On presenting my letter I made some remarks; observing that the purpose of the letter accrediting me as Minister to China, and my presence here, were not simply to fulfil the stipulations of treaties, nor solely for the purpose of seeing that the treaties were faithfully observed, although that would claim my special attention; but beyond all this, it was the desire of the President, that the amicable relations at present existing between the United States and China, might be strengthened

and

and made perpetual; that it would be my aim while here to conduct the business in a just and friendly spirit, and that I should always be glad to unite in any measures by which intercourse, trade and commerce, between the two Nations, might be fostered & extended, and made to contribute more largely to the interest and well being of the people of both Countries

The Prince replied that he reciprocated the sentiments expressed by me, and that the same interest was felt on the part of himself and his associates touching the

subjects

subjects indicated, as were
fell by the President and the
Government of the United States.

Conversation then turned
upon various topics, in which
questions were asked and answered
concerning a variety of subjects;
upon all of which, whether at
home or abroad, the officials
appeared to exhibit considerable
knowledge. Mr Burlingame's
death was referred to, and
all spoke of him in a
manner, which indicated,
unmistakably, that he was
held in high esteem by the
Government of China.

I remarked that the news

of

of Mr Burlingames death
was received by the Government
and people of the United States
with profound regret and sorrow;
that upon his decease the
Minister of the United States in
Russia had taken charge of
the remains until it could be
removed to the United States;
that appropriate eulogies had
been delivered in Congress, and
that flags had been displayed
at half mast upon the public
buildings in ~~[illegible]~~
Boston, San Francisco, and
other places; all denoting the
regret felt at Mr Burlingames
death, and sympathy for
China

China in the loss of an
officer so able and distinguished,
and a friend so devoted.

The Prince remarked that
the announcement by telegraph,
was all the news they had
up to the present moment,
but that letters were now expected,
daily, from Mr Burlingames
colleagues, which would give
official and detailed information
concerning his death. That
as soon as such letters were
received a memorial would be
presented to the Throne, praying
that appropriate honors might
be paid to the memory of the
deceased, by the Government and

people

people of China.

In reply to a question as to the future course of the Embassy, it was stated that no plan would be decided on, nor any action taken, in regard to it, until the letters referred to had been received.

I may here remark that I have information from unofficial sources, which I am inclined to believe reliable, to the effect that the Embassy will be continued as at present constituted, — the two Chinese as Ambassadors or Ministers, and Brown and Deschamps as Secretaries. — They will

will complete the business
begun in Russia, then go
to Italy, and from there
return to China. This
programme will, if carried
out, cover all the ground
originally mapped out with
the exception of Spain; which
latter will be passed by, as
it is the opinion of the Chinese
authorities, there is, at present,
no stable government in Spain
with which to negociate

The Prince and the
Members of the Foreign
Office have returned my
visit Nothing of interest
occurred at this interview,

Ex Ab

except the presentation by me,
on behalf of the National
Watch Company of Elgin
Illinois, of a gold watch
of this Company's manufacture,
to Prince Kung (enclosure b)
To this the Prince sent me, a
few days afterward, a reply
(enclosure c) accompanied
by several pieces of silk of
Chinese manufacture; which
I shall send to the Watch
Company by the first convenient
opportunity

I have the honor to be
Sir,
Your obedient servant
Frederick F. Low

Enclosure A to Dispatch No 3

Legation of the United States

Peking April 20. 1870

To His Imperial Highness Prince Kung

&c &c &c

Sir:-

I have the honor to inform you that the President of the United States has appointed Frederick F. Low, a distinguished and experienced officer, formerly Governor of California, to be Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States to China, and that he has reached this City

I

I have today transferred to him the business of this Legation, and have now the honor to inform Y. I. H. that Mr Low has assumed the duties of his office, and to request that all communications may be addressed to him

I have the honor to be

Sir

Your Imperial Highness'

Obedient Servant

S. Wells Williams

Translation

Enclosure B & Despatch No 3

Prince Kung. Chief Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, herewith makes a reply

On the 20th instant I had the honor to receive Mr Williams' dispatch in which he informs me that you had been appointed Minister of the United States to China, and that having reached your post, he had transferred all the affairs of the Legation into your hands &c

Your predecessors in office, Mr Burlingame and Mr Browne, with Mr Williams when acting as Chargé d' Affairs have all, during the time they were in office, conducted

affairs

affairs in a spirit of justice and amity, and now Y. E. has entered upon the post of Minister Plenipotentiary, every matter which may come under your cognizance will, of course, be managed in in the same amicable way, and to the advantage of all parties in even a higher degree. This will be a source of the highest gratification to all the members of the Foreign Office

To His Excellency
Frederick F. Low
U.S. Minister to China

Tungchi 9th Year 3d Moon 26th day
(April 26. 1870)

Enclosure C to Despatch No. 3

Peking, April 29. 1870

To His Imperial Highness Prince Kung,

&c &c &c

Sir,

Before I left the United States to come to China, the National Watch Co. at Elgin in the State of Illinois, sent me a gold watch, with the request that I would present it to your Highness on their behalf, a gift for your own use, and as a token of the amity and friendship existing between the United States and China — it being a sample of the work done at their newly established manufactory.

This state of Illinois has an area nearly the same as that of the province of Shansi, and at the date of the Emperor Kiaking's accession its inhabitants consisted of only a few hundreds of the aboriginal

aboriginal Indians, while its present population after the lapse of seventy years, numbers over two and a half millions. At the accession of the late Emperor Hienfung in 1851, there were only 22 miles of railroad within its borders, but it now has about 3500 miles in active operation, which cost more than a hundred millions of dollars to construct. This rapid growth and prosperity are very largely owing to the railroads, which enable the inhabitants to go everywhere with quickness and ease. They also promote all kinds of manufactures, since the coal and iron mines of that region have been so largely developed upon which these branches of industry depend.

I shall be gratified to receive an answer in acknowledgment of this watch, in order to send it to the National Watch Co. that they may know that your Highness has -

received

received it.

I avail myself of this occasion to assure you of the high respect with which I am

Your Obedient Servant,
Frederick F. Low

Enclosure III

Translation

to Despatch No 3

Reign of Tungchi

Ninth year, 4th moon, 4th day

(May 4. 1870)

To His Excellency F. F. Low

&c &c

Sir,

I had the honor the other day to receive a watch from the hands of your Excellency, and very highly appreciate the feelings which prompted its presentation by those living at the distance of ten thousand Lis. Still more am I gratified to know that it comes to me as a mark of the friendship and amity which exists between our countries.

I have prepared ten pieces of lusting woven with figures as an expression of my thanks for the sentiments which actuated the givers, and send them with this reply, - availing myself of the opportunity to wish your Excellency an increase of every happiness

Card of Prince Kung /

Ans 22 Aug

Encl

No 4

Acknowledges. The British Govt having declined to ratify the Convention the question has no importance

DEPARTMENT RECEIVED JUL 21 1870 OF STATE

Mr Bates

Frederick F Low

— To —

Department of State

Peking May 10. 1870

Giving his views concerning the new Convention recently concluded between Great Britain and China.

No 4

Legation of the United States
Peking May 10. 1870

Sir

Mr Williams, in his despatches Nos 70. 74 and 75, transmitted to you the texts of the new Convention concluded between Great Britain and China, together with sundry written and printed documents, which go far to explain its provisions. In addition to all these, his views have been given you upon the treaty in detail, and its probable workings, if ratified

Hon Hamilton Fish
Secretary of State

and

and carried into effect. His opinions appear to be just as well as comprehensive, and cannot fail to present the whole matter to you in all its bearings clearly and comprehensively

The documents which have been laid before you indicate very clearly, that the result of the negociations between the British Minister and the Chinese Officials has disappointed the hopes, wishes, and expectations of the foreign residents in China most directly interested, as well as the philanthropick, anxious to see this Empire move, of its own free will, in the path of

Modern

modern ideas and progress.
That the desires and expectations
of the merchants may have
been far beyond what could
reasonably be conceded is
undoubtedly true; but it is
also true that the Chinese
Government has not gone as
far as it might, with entire
safety to the Empire and
advantage to the people.

Since my arrival in
China, being anxious to
ascertain all the points
involved in the discussion,
I have examined carefully
all the arguments that have
been presented for, and against
the

the new treaty, its desirability,
and adaptability to the end
desired

It is unquestionably true
that many of the provisions
of existing treaties have been
rendered nugatory in many,
if not most of the provinces,
by the local officials, to the
detriment of foreign trade and
the injury of foreign merchants
Many of these irregularities
have been remedied, and others
will be, as the local officials
become better acquainted with
the duties they owe to foreign
nations in respect to treaty
rights; by the just demands

for

for redress, and by the pressure exerted by foreign Ministers upon the central government, and through it upon the local provincial officials. But there are others which will always be evaded, to a greater or less extent, so long as the stipulations of treaties give to foreigners advantages over the natives in respect to internal dues and taxation. The error of the past has been that, in the attempted exercise of control over internal trade, conditions were exacted, and rates fixed for inland trade, very much less burdensome

than

than the natives enjoyed under the laws governing their traffic. In such cases, it has not been a matter of surprise to persons acquainted with the Chinese habits of thought — to say nothing of their standard of morality and honesty — that means have been found by the local officers to neutralize these advantages, and equalize the burdens, without diminishing the revenue. In some cases this has been accomplished by indirect means, and in others by setting at nought the plain provisions of treaties.

In view of these considerations,

I

I would be glad to see the new treaty go into operation. It contains, in my judgment, the germ of a correct principle which should obtain in all treaties between foreign Governments and China. I refer particularly to Article III, which provides that manufactured goods of certain descriptions shall, upon payment of <u>import</u> and <u>transit</u> <u>duty</u>, at the port where they are entered, be freely transferred and sold in any portion of the Treaty Port Provinces, without pass, passport, or exactions

of

of any sort: the goods by their style of manufacture being evidence of their foreign origin, and as such, must have paid all dues that could legally be levied at the Port of importation for transit, sale, and purchase of such goods, nations and foreigners are placed on an equality, neither having an advantage over the other

Grave doubts are entertained by those well able to judge, whether this provision will command any greater respect than has hitherto obtained for provisions

provisions of existing treaties,
but it is my opinion, based
perhaps more on hopes for
the future than anything
in the past, - that, after
a reasonable time these
stipulations will be observed
and carried out in substantially
good faith. It is, to my
mind, the inauguration of
a correct principle; — that
merchandize should bear
its proper share of taxes
irrespective of the nationality
of the owner. If this
experiment shall be found
to work satisfactorily to
all concerned, I see no
reason

reason why it may not be extended so as to include most, if not all, the foreign imports that find a market in China

Without going over the whole ground in detail, I am of the opinion that, so far as the interests of citizens of the United States are concerned, the ratification of the treaty would be advantageous

That it will affect the trade of Great Britain and France favorably, is strenuously denied by those interested and perhaps the best able

to

to judge; and from present appearances, it is doubtful if the treaty will commend itself to such favor as to secure its ratification by all the treaty powers. If such should be the final result, and the whole thing should fail, still, the discussion which led to it will, — as Mr Williams has so well said, — be a production of good to the Chinese; and, it will, I trust, prove a useful lesson to diplomatists, — not to conclude treaties unless some substantial and tangible benefits

benefits can be secured to one or both of the contracting parties

If the policy of coercion, which has obtained hitherto with the most influential European nations in their policy with China, is to be abandoned, and new rights and privileges are to be sought and obtained by friendly negociation, it is important that discussion should go on between the foreign representatives and the Chinese officials. It will require time and patience to work changes in

in the existing order of
things by peaceful means.

No one agency will be
likely to do so much towards
enlightenment, as a
prelude to progress, as a
personal contact, intercourse
and discussion, between
the representatives of Western
nations residents in China,
and the Chinese officials.

The supplementary
stipulation entered into
between the British Minister
and Prince Kung, (see
enclosure in Mr Williams
despatch No 75.) provides,
that the treaty shall not
take

take effect, or become of any binding force whatever, until all the treaty powers shall have ratified it. This substantially constitutes the United States one of the contracting parties

In this connection I may be permitted to remark that, the question now presented is a new one, and entirely different from any that has heretofore risen under the "favored Nation clause" in our treaties The operation of the clause heretofore has been to secure to the United States all privileges granted to

other

other nations, in excess of those contained in our own treaties, by the simple operation of the treaty itself, without requiring action by any Department of our Government In the case under review it appears that while China has stipulated to grant to Great Britain further concessions, the latter has, as an offset, agreed to give up some concessions previously obtained, and impose additional burdens upon her subjects, over & and above those agreed to in former treaties If the treaty should be accepted

and

and ratified by Great Britain alone, the citizens and subjects of other powers having treaties with China could claim and exact all the additional advantages conferred by the new treaty without conceding or giving up any right or privilege already obtained; thus placing the subjects of Great Britain at a disadvantage. In order that such unfair advantages may not be obtained, the formal assent of all the treaty powers, to the new treaty as a whole, is required

for

before it can have binding force upon either

If the new treaty should prove acceptable to the Government of the United States, how shall assent be given to make it lawful and effective? Will it be competent for the President, either by action direct, or through the representative of the United States in China, to accept, ratify and make binding there new conditions upon the citizens of the United States? Or are the modifications such as

as to substantially make
this an entirely new treaty,
requiring the sanction of the
President, and the concurrence
of the Senate to give it force
and validity

I respectfully submit
these questions, together with
the treaty for the consideration
of the Departments. I
would feel obliged for the
opinion of the Departments
upon the question touching
the mode of ratification,
as a guide for future action

I have the honor to be
Sir
Your obedient Servant
Fredrick F. Low

Encl
mo

Ack

Mr. Platt

No 5 — 2 Enclosures



Frederick F Low

— To —

Department of State

Peking May 15 1870

Enclosing correspondence with Prince Kung in regard to the death of Tan Ting-siang, — one of the members of the Foreign Office

No 5. 2 Enclosures

Legation of the United States
Peking May 15. 1870

Sir:-

I have the honor to enclose herewith correspondence between myself and Prince Kung with reference to the decease of one of the Members of the Foreign Office - Tan Ting-siang

The despatch of the Prince and the Imperial Decree, will be of interest, - in exhibiting the customs of this people in regard to their external reverence for the dead;

To Hon Hamilton Fish the Secretary of State

the conferring of posthumous titles upon their distinguished officers, &c &c

The deceased has been for some years Presidents of the Board of Punishments, and also a member of the Foreign Office. His position as President of the Board of Punishment was not unlike that of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in the United States; and his his duties as a member of the Foreign Office corresponded very nearly with that of Attorney General in the Cabinet

In fact he was the highest law officer of the Government

In

In the general discussions and business of the Foreign Office he never appeared to take an active part, but his opinions in their private consultations were believed to carry considerable weight.

The death of Tan Tsing-siang, and the absence of Wan-tsiang (probably never to return to active duties) weakens the mental force and ability in the Foreign Office very much.

I have the honor to be

Sir,

Your obedient servant

Frederick F. Low

Enclosure A Dispatch No 5

Legation of the United States,
Peking, 10th May, 1870

To His Imperial Highness Prince Kung,
and others, members of the
Board of Foreign Office.

Gentlemen,

I was yesterday much surprised and concerned on hearing that the Peking Gazette contained a notice of the death of the high officer Tan Ting-siang, a member of your Board. This event causes me much regret, for I had looked forward to his efficient aid in carrying out and arranging all matters between our respective countries; and although I have only seen him twice since my arrival, his sudden departure from this world has excited my sorrow. I have learned that, while he was living, he was one of the chief supports of His Majesty's Government, and well fitted to manage the most difficult affairs; and my predecessor,

in

in office have also borne testimony to his high qualities. I now beg to send this note to express my respectful condolence at the loss which all have sustained

I have, &c
Fredrick F. Low

Enclosure B — Despatch No 5

Reply of Prince Kung.

Prince Kung has the honor to acknowledge Y. E's note respecting the decease of the high officer Tan Ting-siang, which was received two days ago. Its sentiments show the thoughtful regard which you had for him, and I shall cherish your friendly feelings for him with great satisfaction. My own deep regrets at his death are extreme, and I sincerely thank you for these expressions of sympathy.

As I infer that you have already seen what His Majesty has decreed in respect to the honors to be paid to the deceased at his obsequies, I need not refer to it more particularly; but with this brief expression of my thanks, I avail myself of the opportunity to wish you a continual increase of happiness.

Card of Prince Kung

May 12. 1870

Decree. May 9. 1870

The President of the Board of Punishments Tan Ting-siang, gave all his energies to the

fulfillment of his duties, and brought great experience and integrity to their performance. From a post in the Hanlin Academy, he became an under-secretary to the Tribunals, and then overseer of the action at the gates of Pekings; gradually filling appointments on the frontier, and finally rising to the dignities of Vice-President and President in the Boards, and detailed to act with the Board of the Foreign Office. In all he ever laid out all his powers in their execution of his duties. He only lately asked for a furlough, and We had hopes of his speedy recovery, when he suddenly went on the long journey, - greatly to Our unfeigned sorrow.

Let the [posthumous] title of Junior Guardian of the Heir Apparent be conferred on him, and a worked eulogistic banner be sent to his house; let the Manchu earl Yih-kwang take ten of the Imperial Guard and go there to pour out libations to him according to his rank. Let his two sons be advanced as soon as they have been examined, and due respect be paid to his coffin on its way to his burial-place, by all the officers along the road. Respect this.

Entd Jud

Entry for passports
Sent Goodrich VC
23d July

Mr Bat

No 6

ackd

4 Enclosures

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
RECEIVED
JUL
21
1870
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Frederick F Low

— To —

Department of State

Peking May 19. 1870

Enclosing correspondence with Prince Kung, in relation to the death of Mr Burlingame

No 6 — — 4 Enclosures

Legation of the United States
Peking May 19. 1870

Sir:-

I have to acknowledge the reception of your despatch No 4. inclosing a copy of your No 22 to the Minister of the United States in St Petersburg, with reference to the decease of Mr Burlingame, and requesting that the sentiments of the Government might be made known to Prince Kung

I lost no time in

To Hon Hamilton Fish Secretary of State

Carrying

carrying out your instructions,
and have now the honor
to lay before you copies
of the correspondence that
has passed between this
Legation and Prince Kung
touching this painful subject

It is a matter of sincere
gratification to know that
the difficult duties entrusted
to Mr Burlingame had been
performed to the entire satisfaction
of the Emperor and his advisers;
and that his services are
acknowledged in a manner
evincing great respect, gratitude
and liberality

In this connection I
would

would observe that the honorary title of the first rank, conferred by the Emperor, places the name of Mr Burlingame on a par with those of the four members of the Privy Council, and is one grade higher than that bestowed upon Presidents of the Boards, and members of the Foreign Office. It is the highest rank possible to be given any one, either living or dead, outside of the Royal Family.

A posthumous title conferred directly by the Emperor, is considered by the Chinese the highest mark of respect that can be shown to the memory

of

of a deceased public officer,
as the Decree granting it
becomes a part of the official
records of the Empire, which
will perpetuate the name
and fame of the deceased
longer than statues or
Monuments

It will be observed that
the Mission is to be continued
in the manner indicated in
my despatch No 3

I have the honor to be
Sir,
Your obedient servant
Frederick F. Low

List of enclosures

A
Mch 23 — Prince Kung to Mr Williams

B
Mch 25 — Mr Williams to Prince Kung

C
May 14 — Prince Kung to Frederick F Low

D
May 18 — Frederick F Low to Prince Kung

Enclosure 1 Despatch No 6

Tungchi, 8th year 2nd moon 22d day

March 23d. 1870.

Prince Kung and the other members of the Foreign Office, have the honor to inform Mr. Williams, that they were yesterday apprised by M. Butzow, the Russian Chargé d'Affaires, that he had received a telegram, stating that His Excellency Anson Burlingame died of sickness on the 23d of February. How shall we express our grief and surprise on hearing this intelligence! M. Burlingame resided several years in this place, and showed his ability, integrity, and, fair-dealing in every affair that he managed; and during the time he has acted as the Minister for China to all the Treaty-Powers, he has exhibited the same entire devotion to his duties. On hearing now of his decease, the same bitter grief has led us all to wring our hands.

We have sent a dispatch to Chi-kang and Sun, asking them to inform us as quickly as they can of the obsequies and

disposal

disposal of his remains; and when their reply is received, we shall be the better able to consider and determine on what course to take. We now send this note to apprise you of the news we have heard, and avail ourselves of the opportunity to wish you every happiness

Cards of Prince Kung
Pao-yun
Tung Siun
Tan Ting-siang
Mao Chang-hi
Tsunglun
Shän Kwei-fän
Chinglin

Enclosure B Despatch No 6

Legation of the United States.
Peking, March 25. 1870.

The Undersigned has had the honor to receive the note of Prince Kung and the members of the Foreign Office, dated the 25th inst., informing him of the telegram sent by Mr Butzow, that His Imperial Majesty's Envoy to the Treaty Powers, Mr. Burlingame, died last month.

The Undersigned had already heard the same news, and joins with the Prince, &c. in their feelings of deep sorrow and regret; it is like the decease of one of his own kindred, for he had been associated with Mr Burlingame many years, and all our intercourse was marked by the sincerest cordiality and fraternal regard. His efforts as the Envoy for China to the Treaty Powers, have been earnest and untiring for her welfare; as the treaty of Eight Additional Articles with the United States is one clear evidence among others.

others. To hear in this sudden manner that he has gone, is not only a great - almost irreparable - loss for China, but moves every one who knew him even to tears.

In sending this answer to His Imperial Highness and the members of the Foreign Office, the Undersigned seizes the occasion to wish them every happiness

S. Wells Williams

Enclosure C. Despatch No 6.

4.

Tungchi, 9th year, 4th moon, 14th day.
May 14. 1870.

Prince Kung, chief Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, herewith - makes a communication.

In consequence of hearing of the death of the high officer Anson Burlingame in Russia, the Foreign Office immediately wrote to his coadjutors Chi and Sun, directing them to report as quickly as possible what they had done in relation to his obsequies; and Mr. Williams was also informed that as soon as their answer was received, - such further action as should be taken in the matter would be made known.

Their reports have just come to hand, in which they state that Mr. Burlingame had called in medical advice in consequence of a cough and great pain in his side, but the virulence of the disease daily increased, and he died early in the morning of the

23d

23d of February. They had devoted the sum of six thousand taels out of the funds of the Mission for the necessary expenses of his burial, which amount they had already paid to his son, who was to attend to everything connected with the obsequies.

On receiving these dispatches, the Foreign Office laid all the circumstances respecting the death of Mr. Burlingame before the Throne; and in their memorial requested that some special mark of His Majesty's regard might be granted. On the 10th inst., they were honored by receiving the following Imperial Rescript:-

"The Hon. Anson Burlingame was
"appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to all
"foreign nations, and with his coadjutors
"Chikang and Sun Chia-ku, left China to
"visit all those Powers with which she
"has treaties, and attend to all affairs in
"which she has any interest. He had gone
"to the remotest regions across the high seas,

"not

"not sparing any exertion or trouble to carry
"out his mission, whose objects he had at-
"tended to with the greatest earnestness and
"so as to promote amicable relations. In
"February of this year he reached Russia,
"where, to Our great sorrow, he died of
"sickness.

"The necessary arrangements con-
"nected with his burial have already
"been carefully attended to by his col-
"leagues Chi and Sun, who have also
"furnished funds for the obsequies. Let
"also a title of the first rank be conferred
"on him, and let the sum of ten thousand
"taels be set apart from the funds of the
"Mission, and bestowed upon his family,
"both as proofs of Our high regard for
"him.

"Seeing that the affairs of the
"Mission left unfinished by W. Burling-
"ame's death are of the highest import-
"ance, let Chi and Sun jointly have
"charge of them, and in concert with
"Mr Brown and M. Deschamps, the

"first

first and second Secretaries of Legation, devote their united energies to the adoption of the best plans for carrying them to a satisfactory conclusion. Respect this."

In compliance with this Rescript, orders have already been sent to the high officers Chi and Sun, directing them to pay out of the funds of the Mission, the sum of ten thousand taels as a gift to Mr Burlingame's family; and I have likewise informed all the foreign ministers in Peking, as I now do Your Excellency, copying His Majesty's Decree for your information, that you may take such action as is proper.

To His Excellency
Frederick F. Low,
Envoy Extraordinary and
Minister Plenipotentiary of the
United States to China

5

Enclosure D Despatch No 6

Legation of the United States.

Peking. May 18. 1870

To His Imperial Highness Prince Kung.

&c &c &c

Sir.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your Highness' dispatch of the 12th inst., in which you inform me that the sum of six thousand taels had been appropriated from the funds of the Chinese Embassy in Russia, and handed to the son of Mr Burlingame to defray the expenses of the obsequies of his father; and further mention that an Imperial Decree had been

received.

received, in which His Majesty commends the acts of his late Minister, and as special marks of his regard confers upon him the title of a Minister of the highest rank,* and orders that the sum of ten thousand taels be granted to his family, &c., &c.

The

* The nine pin or grades of official rank in China are each subdivided into primary and secondary, the first of which are superordinates of the latter. When Mr Burlingame left Peking, he was made one of the officers found in the secondary place, along with the Presidents of the Boards, &c.; this Decree raises him to the primary place, equal with the Cabinet Ministers in rank.

The Hon. Mr. Burlingame lived in this city so many years, and his ability in the conduct of all affairs that arose between China and his own country is so well known to yourself and all the members of the Foreign Office, that it seems to me to be needless here to do more than refer to it, at this time.

On the day he died, the American Minister at the Court of St. Petersburg telegraphed the event to the Secretary of State who replied the next day by the cable telegraph as follows:-

"Your announcement of the
"death of the Hon. Anson Burlingame
"was yesterday received with mingled
"feelings of surprise and grief. Stricken
"down

"down as he has been in the midst of
"his noble efforts, as the Representative
"of the Great Empire of China, to assert
"her position as one of the family of
"nations, I am sure that those feelings
"will be felt by all, and one sentiment
"of regret fill the hearts of all who
"appreciated his mission. I beg that
"you will convey to Mr. Burlingame's
"afflicted family, and to their Excel.
"lencies, his distinguished associates
"Chikang and Sun Chia-ku, an ex.
"pression of the profound sorrow
"and sympathy with which that sad
"dispensation has inspired the Gov.
"ernment and people of the United
"States.

"Though Mr Burlingame had

"not

"not brought his mission to its full end,
"he had so far completed his negotiations
"that its most important objects may
"now be readily accomplished; and it
"is a satisfaction to know that a citizen
"of this country has thus assisted in
"advancing the welfare of China. Since
"this Government entered last year
"into treaty stipulations with the Mission,
"it has entertained a lively interest in
"its success, and looked forward to the
"acceptance, by the leading maritime
"Powers, of the same general principles
"of amity and equity in their dealings
"with China; for it is the earnest wish
"of the United States that that great
"empire should advance as other nations
"are doing, and rise with them to the
"highest

"highest prosperity and happiness. In
"promoting this work the name and fame
"of a citizen of the United States will
"hereafter be associated, and it will be
"remembered to his honor that he acted
"a conspicuous part in inaugurating
"and leading on a new era of harmony
"and commercial intercourse between
"China and the Western Powers."

I have just received the fore-
going dispatch, and hasten to make it
known to your Highness. I would only
add, that there was but one expression
of sorrow and sympathy throughout the
whole thirty-seven states of the Union,
when the people heard of the death of
Mr Burlingame, in whose decease they
felt that not only had China lost one of

her

her highest statesman, but that his own country was called to mourn over one of her most meritorious men.

I shall forward a copy of your Highness' dispatch to the Government at Washington, in order that the marks of high regard paid to his memory by the Emperor may be generally known; and in acknowledging it I am at the same time able to communicate to you this expression of the sorrow and sympathy which that Government sincerely feels

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your Highness Obedient Servant,

Frederick F. Low

The enclosures filed as originals according to their dates. JW Mr. Brit

DEPARTMENT RECEIVED JUL 21 1870 OF STATE

Legation of the United States,
Peking. May 20. 1870

Memorandum.

In reply to the Memorandum from the State Department, dated March 7th referring to certain deficiencies in the series of dispatches sent from this Legation since 1867, the papers therein noted are all now furnished, with one exception.

In the series of W. Burlingame's dispatches, No. 130 is now sent, but No. 147 was not written.

W. Williams' dispatch No. 14 dated June 24. 1868 is inclosed. The original is probably on file in the Treasury Department; but what is the usage in respect to sending the accounts of contingent expenses, whether to address them to the State Department, (as has been the usage

in

in this Legation) or directly to the Fifth Auditor's Office, is not known. In future, these accounts will be sent to the latter.

The last dispatch in 1868 of Mr Williams is numbered 33, and his next is numbered in continuation of the series begun by Mr. Browne, and commences with No. 56 in the archives. At the time it was written, the arrival of Mr Howard was looked for by the next steamer, or soon after early in November, so that there would probably be time only for a very few dispatches to intervene; this is the reason why Mr. Browne's numbering was continued.

Of Mr. Browne's dispatches, those to be numbered 12 and 13 were both omitted; No. 35 is inclosed, and so are Nos. 54 and 55, which closes his series; the original of No. 54 is sent, and all the inclosures which can

be

be found. In relation to his dispatch
No. 42. which he wished to withdraw
from the archives until he could
furnish an amended copy, he thus
writes to Mr Williams from Shanghai:-
"I have made up my mind not to
"send Dispatch No. 42 in its present
"form. The alterations I make con-
"sist in expunging those portions -
"which I have used in my reply to
"the merchants..... I cannot now
"send you the amended copy of the
"dispatch for want of time. I shall,
"however, return it to you from San
"Francisco."

As no amended copy ever came,
and the letter which Mr Browne wrote
in reply to the addresses from the
American and British merchants
comprised nearly the whole of the
dispatch, and the portion which
would have remained after taking
it out cannot now well be separated,
it seems preferable to withdraw

the

the entire paper from the files of the Legation. The copies of the printed enclosures, marked B. C. D. E. and F. are not all here or to be had; those sent to the Department were probably forwarded as he had marked them to accompany the dispatch, and their endorsement was not removed. It is not clear what paper he intended to refer to as Inclosure A, none so marked being left.

The above completes the entire series referred to in the Memorandum, and the documents now sent will render the files perfect. There are no gaps in the series of dispatches from the State Department that need to be filled up.

S. Wells Williams

AUG

Cultural

Copy to Mr Seyre for the information of his govt

Dis'd. Mr Platt

No 7 1 Enclosure

Frederick F Low

to

Department of State

Peking June 9. 1870

Enclosing correspondence with Prince Kung with reference to the alleged ill treatment of coolies in Peru; and, stating that the appointment of Consuls by the Chinese Government would prove the best protection for its subjects residing abroad.

No 7 1 Enclosure

Legation of the United States

Peking June 9. 1870

Sir:-

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your No 3 of January 17th enclosing copies of correspondence between the Department and the United States Minister in Peru with reference to the alleged wrongs suffered by the Chinese residing in that country The action taken by the Department and the information received from our Minister in Peru,

Hon Hamilton Fish I

Secretary of State

I have communicated to the Chinese Government (Enclosure A)

In my note to Prince Kung, I have ventured to suggest the establishment of diplomatic relations with all foreign countries and the appointment of consuls to reside at all places to which the Chinese emigrate in any considerable numbers, as the best means of protecting their subjects from the hardships of which they complain

The need of a Consul for China, — an honest and reliable person, — who would listen to complaints, ascertain

facts

facts, and such redress for the injuries suffered by these people, has been painfully apparent to me during these last ten years in California. The presence of such an officer would have been to them a great protection. It would have proved a check upon the lawless acts of mobs, prevented much of the persecution & suffered in various ways, aided them in obtaining legal redress; and as a consequence relieved the State and the Nation from the reproach they have suffered by reason of the & unlawful and shameful

persecution,

persecutions of the Chinese
in California

The difficulties in the
way of securing proper action,
as suggested by me, are:—
1st the lack of knowledge
on the part of the Chinese
Government with regard to
its subjects abroad; their
numbers condition &c. and
2d the impecuniosity of the
Central Government, which
causes all plans involving
additional expenditures to
be rejected without consideration,
almost. I shall however
continue, on all appropriate
occasions, to urge the
importance

importance of this matter &
unless otherwise instructed

If Peru takes steps
to establish diplomatic &
relations with this Empire I
shall, agreeably to instructions
lend my aid to secure the
end desired

I have the honor to be
Sir,
Your obedient servant
Frederick F. Low

Legation of the United States.

Peking, May 19. 1870

To His Imperial Highness Prince Kung

&c &c &c

Sir,

On the 12th of June 1869. a dispatch was received from your Highness in relation to the harsh treatment of the Chinese laborers who had gone to Peru, and stating that the Government had decided that no non-treaty Power should be allowed to engage laborers in the country, and that no Chinese should be permitted to enter into contract with the people of non-treaty Powers to go abroad as laborers; and you also requested the late Minister, Mr Browne, to inform

The

the consuls at the ports of this order, and that no merchant from those countries would be permitted to open an emigration office for the purpose of contracting for laborers, in order thus to prevent the people from suffering untold evils, &c., &c.

When that dispatch was received, Mr Browne sent it and the complaint of the Chinese in Peru, to the Secretary of State, who forwarded them to the American Minister in Peru, that he might communicate their contents to the officials there, and in the interests of humanity and justice urge upon them a lenient treatment of these laborers, and more consideration for their wrongs. These arose, as he told

told them, because the Chinese were not well enough acquainted with the laws of Peru to properly make known their complaints; or else, the authorities were unwilling that they should learn their rights in law and take measures to claim its protection.

The Peruvian Minister said that the Government proposed to adopt such regulations as would, in the future, effectually remove all real or fictitious causes of complaint on the part of the coolies. It had now under consideration the propriety of sending an envoy to Peking to negotiate a treaty by which rules could be established for

the

the introduction of laborers into Peru, and guarantying their rights and privileges.

I make known these facts to your Highness without delay, but I have not heard at what time the Peruvian Government intends to carry out this design. It may be remarked, however, in relation to the unhappy condition of the Chinese in Peru, which, as that country is not very far from my own state of California, I have long heard of, that it is in a large measure owing to the want of an officer residing there on the part of China to attend to the complaints of her people in that land. They are like children

who

who have wandered far from home beyond the oversight and care of parents and friends; and it cannot be thought strange if, when they are oppressed, and make known their griefs to strangers, that they fail to get the protection and redress that they require. In my own view, it is highly desirable that China should appoint officers to represent her in all those countries with which she has treaties, where her subjects are found. If they are oppressed in any way, there will then be a medium through whom they can act and thus directly bring their grievances to the knowledge of His Majesty's Government, without

the

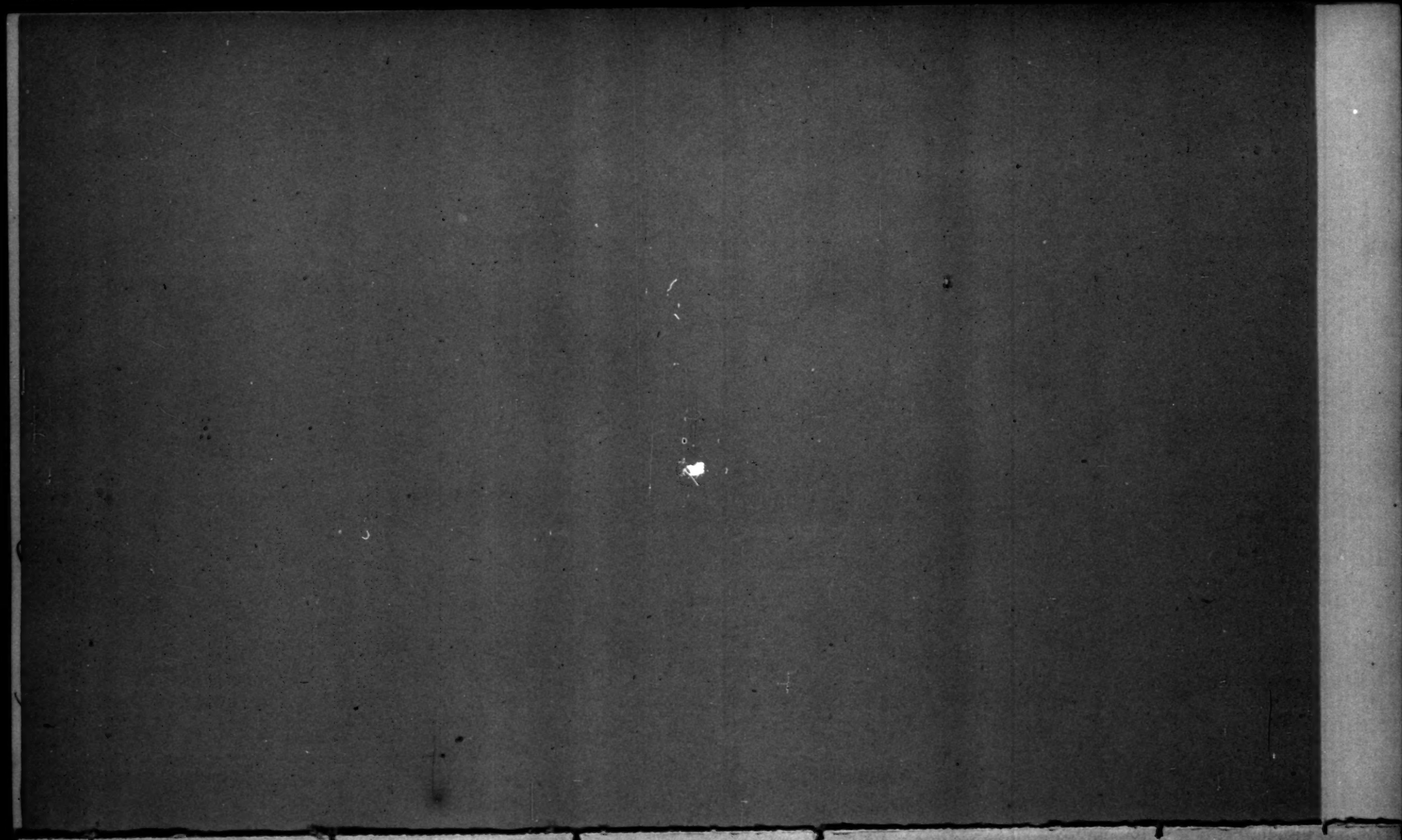
the delay and difficulty of sending them through the agents of other Powers.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your Highness' Obedient Servant,

Frederick F. Low



the delay and difficulty of sending them through the agents of other Powers.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your Highness' Obedient Servant,

Frederick F. Low

Extract mail

No. 8

2 Enclosures

Frederick F. Low

— to —

Department of State

Peking June 10. 1870

Enclosing the Returns of Trade for the Treaty Ports in China for the year 1869.

No 8 2 Enclosures

Legation of the United States
Peking June 10th 1870

Sir

I have the honor to lay before you the "Returns of Trade at the Treaty Ports in China for the year 1869", collated, prepared and published by and under the authority of the Department of Maritime Customs

The officials connected with this branch of the Chinese Customs are all foreigners; most of them have a considerable

Hon Hamilton Fish
Secretary of State

considerable knowledge of the languages, and, so far as I can learn, their duties are performed with care & intelligence, & actuate & honesty; — and as a result their report is by far the most reliable data that can be obtained concerning the trade of China

I would observe that the report only covers the imports and exports of merchandize, in foreign vessels, and does not include the trade carried on by means of Native Junks; — this latter class of vessels

reports

depart and pay duties to a separate Customs establishment, entirely under native direction and control.

This trade is yet very considerable, particularly between Hong Kong and the southern ports; but, as no returns are made by the native authorities, its amounts and value are left entirely to conjecture.

I have the honor to be
Sir,
Your obedient Servant
Frederick F. Low

AUG 22 1870 DEPT OF STATE

Acknowledge
Send copy to Mr Freyre with a note
explaining why this sent
Did so

Mr Piatt

No 9

Frederick F Low

to

Department of State

Peking June 15. 1870

Acknowledges receipt of despatches from Department Nos 5 & 7 containing information in regard to Coolies in Peru, and the request of Peruvian Government that US Ministers in China and Japan might be allowed to act for Peru. Gives opinion upon the plan of Peru for protecting Coolies

No 9

Legation of the United States
Peking June 15 1870

Sir:-

I have the honor to acknowledge the reception of your despatches Nos 5 and 7:- the former enclosing copies of additional correspondence between the Chargé d'affairs of the United States and the Peruvian Government relative to the alleged ill treatment of Chinese coolies; the latter stating that the Government of Peru, through its Minister of Foreign

Hon Hamilton Fish
Secretary of State

Foreign Affairs, had requested that the United States' Ministers in China and Japan might be permitted to act for that Republic, and that the Departments had assented thereto.

Prior to the receipt of these despatches I had communicated to the Chinese Government all the information that had been received touching the Coolie question in Peru, together with suggestions as to the best mode of remedying the evils complained of, and affording security in the future. (See my No 7 with its enclosure)

The Foreign Office will be

be informed of the purport of this additional intelligence, and the action proposed by Peru

In communicating to the Foreign Office the proposed action on the part of the Peruvian Government, I shall not fail called upon to express any opinion to them regarding it; at the same time candor compels me to say that, in my opinion, the plan indicated in the note of the Minister of Foreign affairs to Mr Buck, will fail in affording any adequate relief to the people intended to be benefitted by it.

If my services can be

made

made available in bringing China and any of the South American Republics into better relations, it will give me pleasure to render all the aid possible, so far as it can be done without conflicting with instructions emanating from your Department.

I have the honor to be

Sir,

your obedient servant

Frederick F. Low

Encl
3720

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
RECEIVED
AUG 20 1870

I acknowledge. The British Govt having decided not to satisfy Sir R. Alcock's decision, the question has become unimportant for the present

No 10 Ans 22 Aug Mr. Pratt

1 Enclosure

Frederick F. Low

to

Department of State

Peking June 19. 1870

Enclosing a paper read before the Asiatic Society in Shanghai by J. Barr Robertson upon the merits of the new Convention between Great Britain and China. Gives the antecedents and present standing of Mr Robertson, and estimates the value of his opinions favorably

No 60 — 1 Enclosure

Legation of the United States
Peking June 19. 1870

Sir: —

In all the discussions which the new Convention between Great Britain and China has provoked, I have found no argument more candid, impartial and able, than is contained in the paper which I beg to send herewith (Enclosure A)

Its author, — J Barr Robertson — is a member of the American importing and commission house of Bull Purdon & Co

Hon Hamilton Fish
Secretary of State

of

of Shanghai, although an Englishman by birth and education. He has lived in Shanghai some years; is intimately acquainted with the practical workings of all foreign business in China; appears to have studied carefully the treaties, tariffs, trade regulations &c, and has, evidently, a clear comprehension of their bearings upon foreign commerce and trade.

What I have said as to the character and standing of Mr Robertson applies to Mr Hanbury, who, as you will observe took part in the discussion. Mr Hanbury

is

is also an englishman and one of the oldest, most substantial, and highly respected of the foreign merchants in Shanghai

It is something quite new, to find two respectable merchants, independent enough in thought and action, to voluntarily espouse the "unpopular side," — as it is termed in China — in a discussion upon this subject. It is a hopeful sign, and indicates "progress"

I commend the paper to you as worthy of a careful perusal.

L

I have the honor to be

Sir

Your obedient servant

Frederick F. Low

THE CONVENTION OF PEKING.

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE ASIATIC SOCIETY ON THE 16TH MAY 1870; AND DISCUSSION THEREON.

(Reprinted from the N.-C. Herald and S. C. & C. Gazette of 2nd June 1870.)

At a meeting of the Asiatic Society held on the 16th instant, Mr. Michie, Vice-President, in the chair, Mr. J. Barr Robertson read the following paper on The Convention of Peking:

"In commencing to consider the stipulations contained in the Convention of Peking, there are certain preliminary points that demand attention, before we enter upon the merits of the case. It has been frequently remarked of late, that now for the first time we are negotiating a Treaty with the Chinese Government on terms of equality, and in a time of profound peace. The Treaty of Tientsin opened up the North of China, and the lower Yangtse, to foreign commerce, and thus gave us access to all the more important commercial cities on the seaboard, and to 600 miles of the great artery of the empire. Fortunate was it, both for foreigners and Chinese, that the events at Canton, in 1856, raised in the minds of the British and French Governments, the question of the necessity of dealing with the Central Government at Peking, and of still further opening the empire to foreign enterprize. It is not too much to say, that ten years later, the Treaty of Tientsin in its entirety would have been an impossibility; not but what the Chinese authorities could have been compelled to yield all that it contains; but that the British Government, yielding to the democratic impulse that has, in the interval, passed over Europe and America, would have hesitated to impose all the conditions to which the Chinese Government then submitted. With this change in the general policy of the Home Government, I have no fault to find; although, in one or two points of Lord Clarendon's instructions to British Officials in China, the misrepresentations of which he has permitted himself to become the victim, have led him into erroneous applications of the liberal policy which he pretends to follow. Fuller information will, doubtless, cause the Government to abandon the false ideas that they have been led to entertain; and they will see the necessity of issuing such instructions as will provide for cases which may arise at any moment, and which the present instructions seem entirely to ignore.

With the Treaty of Tientsin, then, the era of extorting concessions by force of arms has closed, and it is fortunate that all the more important concessions were obtained before the change in the views of British statesmen. The remaining privileges that we desire to possess may well be left to the judicious pressure of the foreign ministers, and to the force of external circumstances, which begin to count for something even in China.

Be that as it may, however, there are two important considerations to be kept in view, namely, that the British Government are prepared to respect the wishes and prejudices of the Chinese authorities, and that they are unwilling to take the responsibility of accepting more than the most moderate concessions. On the one hand we have to contend against the jealousy and obstructiveness of Chinese officials; while, on the other hand, we have to deal with the sincere scruples of our own Government. With the former, it is to be feared that foreigners will always have to be more or less in open conflict; while, in the case of the latter, there is no reason to believe that they will refuse to be enlightened, on points where their misconceptions are capable of being demonstrated.

The field of Treaty revision is, therefore, practically limited by two conditions, namely, by the extent of the concessions which the Chinese are likely to yield, and by the limits within which the British Government are willing to accept any further extension of Treaty rights, that may be obtainable by their representative. Whatever the Chinese are determined to resist, or the British Government are disinclined to accept, may be left entirely out of consideration. The questions on which both Powers are willing to negotiate are, alone, the fit subjects for a treaty; and, however important other questions may be, even for the interests of the Chinese themselves, it is unnecessary to discuss them in connection with a treaty from which they are expressly excluded. It is perfectly competent for us to use all our endeavours to enlighten the British Government, or the Chinese officials, but they are the judges of what shall form the basis for negotiation.

This may seem to be according to the Chinese Government, such a liberty of choice, as, owing to the incapacity of her rulers, we have always hitherto felt bound to refuse to China. If the British Government choose to accord to the Chinese authorities such unaccustomed latitude, we can only offer a barren protest in the event of our proving that injury must inevitably follow; but we must be perfectly certain of our position. And here I would draw a distinction that, in my opinion, is fundamental in considering the policy to be pursued in China. The Treaty of Tientsin provides for two distinct objects: first, for security of life and property; and, secondly, for certain trading privileges, and a certain tariff of duties &c., to be charged. Now, it is in respect of the first of these two objects that China differs from every civilized country. The security of life and property, to which the Chinese are accustomed, falls so far short of the Western standard, that we have been unable to accept it; and, therefore, the Treaty Powers have been compelled to reserve all jurisdiction over their nationals and their property. This special jurisdiction, unknown amongst civilized nations, is indispensable here; and it is because it is indispensable, that the British Government cannot leave anything relating to the security of the lives of British residents to the discretion of the Chinese officials. Notwithstanding all the beneficent intentions of our Government, they cannot prevent emergencies from arising in which, not the "inevitable gunboat" will be taken undue advantage of, but in which the British executive, represented by men-of-

war, will be under the unhappy necessity of extending to its citizens the armed protection which, when needed, they have a right to expect. In respect of this provision for necessary protection, Lord Clarendon's published instructions do not, in my opinion, meet the wants of the case; and on this phase of our Treaty relations there is room for a firm remonstrance.

But, turning now to the second object of the Treaty, namely, that of trading privileges and tariff of duties, we find ourselves dealing under very different conditions. In these matters China stands more nearly on an equality with foreign countries; and we have, by the Treaty of Tientsin, established such extended relations as to trading, that, for the future, our commerce is emancipated, in great measure, from the special foreign jurisdiction under which our lives and property are still placed, and all changes must be brought about by peaceful negotiation. On this question of trading privileges, and tariff also, the Treaty Powers do not all stand on the same footing. Great Britain represents the principle of free trade for itself, and of protection for its colonies; the United States represent the principle of protection in a very exaggerated form; France, Germany, and Spain follow in a milder strain; and Russia represents the exclusive political economy of the last century. While they are perfectly unanimous as to the protection of life and property; on the question of trading privileges and duties there is such diversity of practice amongst them, that it is difficult for them to adopt, consistently, an enlightened basis of common action. It is clear that the United States cannot, on economical grounds, offer any serious objections to the Tariff, the Transit Dues, or what are called the illegal exactions in the interior; because every one knows that in the most extreme cases of fiscal burdens, on goods passing into the most distant provinces, the accumulated exactions do not approach the amount levied on similar goods under the tariff of the United States. Then, with duties levied on British manufactures entering Canada, amounting to about 25 per cent *ad valorem*, it is indeed difficult, for the British Government consistently to come before the Chinese authorities and insist upon the economical errors of high tariffs. It is impossible to deny that, here, we confront a problem by no means easy of solution. If we separate the entire question of trading privileges and tariffs, as I think we are entitled to do, from the traditional jurisdiction which has always been and is still reserved in favour of Consuls, in the case of the lives of British citizens, the question then becomes one of greater simplicity. The duties levied in the United States and Canada, on British manufactures, are differential duties, in favour of American and Canadian goods; and, therefore, the imposition of differential duties is one of the functions of enlightened Governments. It naturally follows that if the Chinese resort to differential duties, our claim to interfere with any such arrangement, on the ground that the practice is too barbarous for us to tolerate, can scarcely be maintained. Moreover, no one has clearly established that the Chinese authorities have, at least of late years, levied at the inland barriers any tax on foreign goods to which native goods are not also subject. So that, leaving out of consideration the 5 per cent levied at the open ports, the taxes on foreign goods are precisely the same as those on native goods.

This danger of differential duties being exacted was the one against which Lord Elgin intended to guard, by stipulating for the payment of Transit Dues on a basis of 2½ per cent *ad valorem*. But now that we are satisfied of the absence of any differential element, the question arises whether we have any right or reason on our side in not conforming to the taxes current throughout the Empire, and especially so, if these taxes are moderate. A further question also suggests itself—can we, with any show of reason, endeavour to impose upon the Chinese a tariff which is differential in favour of foreign goods as compared with the known burdens on native products. These questions are in my opinion, fundamental, and it is perfectly evident that we cannot delay much longer in defining the grounds on which our policy is based.

If China were not the altogether passive and indifferent Power which the Chinese Mission did not represent it to be, it might, with perfect fairness, claim of the British Government the benefit of the favoured nation clause, and ask to have the tariff remodelled on the basis of that of the United States. We cannot conceal from ourselves that nothing but the unexampled inertness of the Chinese Government stands in the way of their dictating the terms of a much higher tariff than the existing one; and, as the Chinese are by no means behind the age in the amount of their levies, we would have extreme difficulty in offering a satisfactory vindication of any attempt we might make to interfere with whatever tariff they were determined to institute. I must explain, however, that while I admit that the Peking Government might justly propose any reasonable tariff, without the British Government taking exception to it, I at the same time do not overlook the fact that the Foreign Ministers can do much to support or to defeat any proposal that the Chinese may make, and that the authority of the Central Government being weak in the provinces, it is competent for the British Government to keep a strict watch on the treatment, by provincial officers, of exports or imports pertaining to the foreign trade, and to take what steps may be deemed expedient and adequate by the Minister, in conjunction with the Peking Government, to cause the local officials to conform to the Treaty. The high officers of the Chinese Government who arranged the Treaty of Tientsin, and afterwards revised the Tariff at Shanghai, repeatedly asserted, as may be seen in the Blue Books, that the Treaty was extorted under military pressure, * and this has been alleged as a reason of the non-fulfilment of some of its provisions. As to how far it may have been a sufficient reason it is happily unnecessary for me to inquire, as I am now entering on the consideration of a Convention which has not been extorted under military pressure, but which is the deliberate and unconstrained offer of the Chinese Government.

It is highly probable that I attach more importance to the fact of the Convention being voluntary on the part of the Chinese Government, than most of those now present. Few things seem to me more desirable, in China, than that we should co-operate with the Peking Government as far as it is possible to do so; and that our policy should be that of basing our relations with China on as broad a foundation, of independent action for the Chinese, and of deference for their reasonable wishes, as may seem compatible with the maintenance of our exceptional position in this empire. It would, perhaps, be difficult to determine, with any exactness, the limit at which reasonable wishes may end, and unreasonable wishes begin; but, fortunately, on the present occasion I am relieved from any such necessity by the fact that the Convention of

* Weapons of war were constraining, there was a state of crackling fire and of rushing water.—Corres. of Lord Elgin. p. 408.

Peking is before me, and I am only concerned in endeavouring to prove that this Convention is a reasonable proposal on the part of the Chinese Government, and one which, with one or two minor alterations, I trust will be accepted by the Treaty Powers. It is not all we want, but it contains too much that we do want for us to reject it.

The stipulation in the Treaty of Tientsin, under which this or any other revision can take place, only provides for revision of the Tariff and the commercial articles contained in that Treaty. It is clear, therefore, that our positive claim to an extension of privileges is confined within very narrow limits; and, in the present and probable future temper of the British Government, we have little reason to expect that they will put forward any very marked pretensions to fresh concessions. However, to pass to the main features of the Convention, the case may be summarized thus:—in return for an increased duty on opium and on silk, the Chinese Government undertake to permit all foreign imports (opium excepted) to pass freely into the nine Treaty-port provinces without any restriction or exaction whatever, and into the other provinces (excepting Manchuria) under Transit passes to be granted, without charge, on payment, at the port of entry, of full Import Duty as at present, and half Import Duty in lieu of all Transit duties. Chinese produce intended for foreign export, is to be brought from the interior and shipped without other charge than tariff duty and a half. So that the predominant stipulations of the Convention are increased duty on opium and silk, against a fixed charge on the foreign trade of the tariff duty and a half.

The duty on opium is to be raised from Tls. 30 to Tls. 50 per picul, and is to remain under its present exceptional conditions as to transit. The number of houses interested in the opium trade is so small that, anywhere out of China, it would scarcely be credited, especially as the impression has gone abroad, that it is the principal business in which merchants here are interested. These few have, however, naturally objected to the additional duty; although I think I am correct in saying that by far the majority of the mercantile community have no exception whatever to take to it. It is impossible to object to it on economical grounds, because the Indian Government derive from the opium exported about Tls. 200 per chest, and, therefore, it is laid down at the ports of China at an enormous advance upon its cost of production; and the question in reality is, whether is the Indian or the Chinese Government to get the benefit of the immense difference in price, between the cost of production and the rate at which it sells in the markets of China, namely, in taxes alone, about Tls. 230 per picul? India finds the producers and the drug, China finds the consumers; ought India to have large duties or China, or ought they to share them equally? At present, China is content to allow India to have Tls. 200 of the spoil; and, in order that this sum may not suffer any diminution by competition, the Chinese Government are sufficiently accommodating, as we learn from the Chamber of Commerce delegates' report on the trade of the Upper Yangtse, as to impose duties on the native grown opium, passing from Sze-chuen to Shanghai, to the extent of nearly Tls. 150 per picul.* This policy is similar in principle to that which would be exemplified by Canada, if, instead of taxing British manufactures 25 per cent, it was to impose on the Canadian manufactures a tax of 25 per cent, so that Great Britain could levy an export tax on British goods for Canada of 50 per cent, and still compete in the Canadian market on as favourable terms as it can at present. It may be laid down as a rule, that exporting countries impose no duties on exports, except where an absolute monopoly exists. It is regarded as enough that the exporting country should acquire the wealth obtained in exchange for its raw material, or for the labour employed in manufacturing its textile fabrics or other products. It is sufficient for the United States that it obtains a fair price for its raw cotton, for Great Britain that it receives full value for the labour expended in manufacturing cotton goods; and, thus, America and Great Britain unite in delivering, at the ports of China, cotton goods without any taxes whatever entering into the cost. Is it not enough under similar circumstances that India should be content with the profit, to the producers of opium, to be derived from receiving its cost of production, without any taxes whatever superadded. Whether it is or not, we can scarcely object to the Chinese authorities levying Tls. 50, when the Indian Government levy Tls. 200, both of which the Chinese consumer will have to pay.

Besides, opium belongs to the category of articles which, in the West, are regarded as the fittest subjects for taxation; and, indeed, from which it is deemed expedient to raise the largest amount of revenue, consistently with not offering too great temptations to smuggling. On this ground, therefore, it is an article that is best left to be dealt with by the Chinese authorities; and, in this opinion, all but a very few of our community fully concur. If the addition of Tls. 20 per picul to the present Import Duty, shall eventually be obtained at the expense of the Indian Government, it is in reality no concern of ours, as the question before us is not the conservation of the Indian revenue, but the satisfaction of the legitimate demands of the Chinese authorities.

There is one further consideration regarding opium to which I may here refer. In the correspondence relating to Lord Elgin's Missions to China and Japan, (page 401), the Report on the Tariff, by Messrs. Oliphant and Wade, contains the following sentence:—"They [the Chinese Commissioners] would have the rate now fixed [for Opium] guaranteed in perpetuity; which being objected to, they proposed that in any future revision of the Tariff, the revision of the opium duties should be special, China consenting never to raise it above 10 per cent upon value." This is recorded without further comment, and I only refer to it to show that the probability of a higher import duty being imposed on opium, was in the minds of those who fixed the Tariff. I do not adduce it as conclusive of any right on the part of the Chinese, but to indicate that there was a reservation on the point.

It will, doubtless, be argued that the British Minister was not entitled to stipulate for the payment of a higher Import duty, without coming to some satisfactory arrangement on the question of the barrier duties, to be levied in transit. I can see no necessary reason which imposed upon Sir Rutherford Alcock any such course, and as the question of the inland taxation of opium had been specially reserved to the Chinese authorities; and as they are still unwilling to place this article under the transit pass system, I am content that it should be so. Whether the regulation of the internal taxation would be beneficial to the foreign trade, or otherwise, is quite immaterial, so long as the Chinese stand upon rights which we have already expressly reserv-

*The increase in price between Sz-chuen and Shanghai is Tls. 150 per picul; and as charges of transport, &c., are very small, the Delegates consider that this increased price must consist mostly of taxation. There are however other elements that might enter into the increase, especially when the probability of smuggling is taken into account.

ed to them by Treaty, and refuse to open up the question. Opium is, in short, one of those articles which ought to be subjected to the highest taxation that it can bear and China will do well to extract from it the maximum revenue.

To sum up the points bearing on the proposed addition of Tls. 20 to the Import duty on opium. There is, in reality, no economical question whatever involved in the increase, the actual issue being in what proportions the Indian and Chinese Governments will share the enormous taxation that is intercepted between the place of production and the place of consumption. The Chinese impose large duties on native opium, thus raising the value of the article to a price that enables it to bear the excessive Indian taxation, by this means benefitting the Indian Exchequer at the expense of their own. Further, opium belongs to that class of articles from which nearly all civilized nations raise the largest possible revenue, and is thus one of the very best subjects for excessive taxation. Lastly, as the Chinese insist on Tls. 50 of Import duty, and reserve to themselves the power, which we know is limited, of taxing it in the interior to any extent they please, there is no legitimate grounds on which we can object.

The next point to be considered is that of the proposed increase in the silk duty, namely from Tls. 10 to Tls. 20. This is objected to because China silk has to compete with European silk, and an addition to the export duty must place the former, by so much, at a disadvantage in the European market. It is defended on the ground that the tariff of the Treaty of Tientsin was negotiated on a basis of 5 per cent. *ad valorem*, that Tls. 20 does not quite amount to 5 per cent., and that if the present revision is coincident with an unusually high price for silk, and one which may not be maintained for any length of time, that is one of those chances which must be accepted, although unfortunate. The latter view has been put forward by Lord Clarendon, and the officials of the Foreign Offices and the Board of Trade, and I will now examine it. On referring to the Blue Book relating to Lord Elgin's Mission, and especially to Mr. Wade's letter to Lord Elgin, of October 1st, 1858, and Lord Elgin's letter to Earl Malmesbury, of November 8th, 1858, I find that the duties on tea and silk were expressly excepted from revision on the 5 per cent. basis, in truth, the duties on these two articles, before the Treaty of Tientsin, were continued without alteration, and it would appear that they were not fixed on a basis of 5 per cent., even by the Treaty of Nanking. The French and American Treaties of Tientsin did not provide for any revision of Tariff at all; and, therefore, as the former duty on silk was Tls 10, it was impossible for Lord Elgin to offer to raise it to 5 per cent. *ad valorem*, or rather to increase the duty on silk and reduce it on tea, because the French would have objected to pay a higher duty. Under such circumstances the Chinese refused to entertain any proposal to lower the duties on tea, and those two articles were thus excluded from the 5 per cent. basis. This I think disposes of Lord Clarendon and Sir Rutherford Alcock's defence of the increase of silk duty, on the ground that owing to the augmented value of silk, the Chinese have a right to expect the duty to be re-arranged on a 5 per cent. basis.

If the defenders of the increased duty insist that the Chinese are resolved to have Tls. 20 per picul, and that there are advantages in the Convention that outweigh this additional tax, then, I think, we have no option but to agree with them. Everyone, of course, desires the continuance of light duties; and, taken by itself, no one would be found advocating, or even voluntarily accepting, this increase if it were not part of a scheme which is, on the whole, beneficial to foreign trade. It may fairly be urged, that exporting countries ought not to impose export duties on goods that have to compete with similar products in other parts of the world. Economically it is a mistaken policy, but the error lies in the fact that it is contrary to the interests of the exporting country itself; and if the exporting country persists in injuring its own trade, it may reasonably be argued that that is its own business. China does not value its foreign trade, or go abroad to extend it; but we come here, and offer our own products and ask theirs in return, without the Chinese taking any reciprocal initiative whatever.

There are, however, much more conclusive reasons in favor of consenting to double the silk duty, than the simple wish of the Chinese Government, than the necessity of conforming to the 5 per cent *ad valorem* basis, or than the opinion which has been expressed that silk can afford to pay the additional burden. In nearly all the documents bearing on this question, it has been taken for granted that "the inland charges have hitherto amounted to only half the export duty;" and, on this fictitious supposition, doubling the export duty has been demonstrated to be doubling the burdens on silk. But, as is well known, in China at least, the case stands very differently. In the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce Memorial to Sir R. Alcock, in November 1867, the following occurs:—"To show the extent of the internal dues upon native produce, it is only necessary to refer to the Report upon Trade for the past year, by the Commissioner of Customs for Shanghai, who states the levy on silk to be Tls. 30 per picul, equal to three times the amount of the export duty." In an important pamphlet, issued from the Customs' Press, entitled "Returns of the Native charges, &c.," December 1869, it is shown that the total duties levied on silk, up to its arrival here, amount to Tls. 22.15 per picul. It is unnecessary for me to explain how the transit pass system, as applied to silk, was defeated in its operation by a tax on the vendors in the interior, so as to equalize the taxes paid by foreigners to those paid by natives. The treaty stipulated that Tls. 5 were to be paid in commutation of all inland taxes, at a time when, as we learn from Lord Elgin's Blue book, page 115, they were known to be Tls. 24 as paid by natives, who were not entitled to take advantage of the transit pass system. But, taking Tls. 22.15 paid in native duties, and Tls. 10, the tariff export duty, we find that, at present, silk is taxed to the extent of Tls. 32.15 per picul; whereas, most of the present objections against the increased duty proceed on the assumption that all that is paid is Tls. 10 export duty, and Tls. 5 transit duty, in all Tls. 15. The consequence is, that stipulating in the Convention for Tls. 20 export duty, and Tls. 10 transit duty, which the Chinese Government undertake to enforce, the British Government are only legalizing a total tax of Tls. 30 per picul, in lieu of the Tls. 32.15 now levied. So that, in so far as the stipulations in the Convention are concerned, the British Government have, under the mistaken impression that they are increasing the taxes on silk, in reality provided for diminished duties to the extent of Tls. 2.15 per picul; and, at least, they have only legalized the amount of duty to which silk is at present liable, and which, as we well know, the local authorities will not consent to abandon. On the question of transit dues, in connection with silk, I will deal separately; and I, therefore, conclude that, as the Convention provides for

the legalization of rather less than the amount of the duties with which silk is at present charged, the proposed nominal increase of tariff duty ought to be approved. But even if a *bond fide* additional duty were imposed on silk, nearly all, if not quite the whole of the increase would have to be borne by the producer. The only effect would probably consist in a slight diminution of export, but such a contingency is not before us, as there is no *bond fide* augmentation of the burdens on silk under consideration.

The question of the Transit Dues has been pronounced, on all sides, to be the most important in the entire category of treaty stipulations. The commutation of all Transit Dues whatever, on a basis of 2½ per cent *ad valorem*, has been pronounced a failure, and three principal reasons have been alleged as producing this result; first, that the fiscal system of the empire being founded on taxes on goods in transit, the native authorities have been unable, and, in many cases, unwilling to adapt themselves to a change which, by a single payment, commutes all these charges; secondly, that many of the local authorities are unwilling to forego taxes that have been farmed out to them, and that the corruption of the mandarins is too deep-seated for them to abandon sources of revenue which they can continue to profit by, without regard to the wishes of the Peking Government; and, thirdly, that all the proceeds of the transit pass system, or, as has been held more recently, at least a considerable part of them, are transmitted to Peking, thus depriving the Provincial Government of part of their appropriate revenue. No attempt has been made to establish any charge of the native authorities resorting to differential taxation, and consequently the grievance of foreigners is that barrier taxation is excessive. If it is excessive, then 2½ per cent is insufficient as a basis of commutation; and to stipulate for 2½ per cent, in lieu of all inland charges, would be to subject foreign imports and exports to less than their just share of internal taxation. But I am by no means satisfied that inland taxation is so heavy as is generally assumed, although nowhere but in Manchuria does it fall below the half Tariff duty provided for by Treaty. In the Report of the Delegates of the Chamber of Commerce, Messrs. Michie and Francis, on the Trade of the Uppper Yangtse (page 6), I find the following passage:—"We were informed that many of the passes made out [at Hankow] for Siang-tan were used to cover goods going to Chang-teh and other places, but making due allowance for that, it is undoubted that Siang-tan takes off by far the largest proportion of the foreign cotton goods that are imported into Hankow. An advance of 1 mace per piece on Grey Shirtings is considered sufficient to cover all charges, between Hankow and any of the markets of Hoonan, and leave a small profit to the dealer." On this estimate, which is a little more favourable than in the customs' printed Returns, the total charges between Hankow and its principal market Siang-tan, including all taxation, and freight, and a small profit, only amount to about 4½ per cent *ad valorem*; and I need scarcely say that if we had steam communication, and all the facilities we wish, we could scarcely hope to pay 2½ per cent Transit Dues, and lay down our cotton goods cheaper than we do at present. This, then, is the state of the foreign trade, so far as our largest market in the valley of the Yangtse is concerned. Passing now to the open port which takes off the largest quantity of our cotton goods, namely, Tientsin, we there find that, before leaving the city, the full half Tariff duty is exacted; and that, on the way to the largest inland markets, no more than 1½ candareens per piece is levied. In again referring to the Report of the Chamber of Commerce Delegates, Appendix C., we find the current prices of foreign goods at Shanghai, Hankow, Shasi, Ichang, and Chungking, at the time of their visit; and on a comparison of these, and making some allowance for fluctuations in value, the selling price at Chungking is perhaps from 10 to 15 per cent in excess of that at Hankow; and this includes, besides freight for 725 miles, and the ordinary barrier taxation, a large levy at the Imperial barrier at Khwei, and, in addition to profits, an amount necessary to indemnify the merchants for the losses they sustain owing to the dangers of the navigation. So that the enhanced prices of foreign goods at Chungking, namely of from 10 to 15 per cent over Hankow rates, show that the inland taxation on that long water route cannot be excessive, and we may infer that it is very moderate.

In corroboration of this view, I find that, when the expedition to Hankow took place, in the spring of 1861, the three Delegates from the Chamber of Commerce, of whom Mr. Michie was one, reported as follows:—

"The prices, considering that they were quoted in a market avowedly bare of stocks, are not excessive, and would rebut the impression that British goods have been subjected to any heavy "squeeze" in transitu, in addition to the necessary cost of conveyance."

The conclusion, therefore, at which I think there are ample grounds for arriving, is that the amount of inland taxation has been exaggerated, and that in Hoonan, Szechuen, Shantung, Shansi and Shensi, to which I have more particularly adverted, foreign goods are offered at prices but little enhanced by taxation; and, in Hoonan especially, we can scarcely expect, under any circumstances, to lay down our goods at prices lower than those now current there. I venture to remark further, that, so far from believing, as many of the memorials and other documents dealing with this question have asserted, that nothing but these inland exactions stand in the way of our opening up an enormous trade to which the present is a mere shadow, I am strongly of opinion that there is no really important market in the interior to which our goods do not penetrate; although there is much to be developed in this empire, as elsewhere, and the present annual increase in our trade will doubtless continue to take place for a long time to come, as much is to be expected from a growing acquaintance with foreign goods, and from the tenacity with which the Chinese cling to the use of those articles which they have once fairly adopted. It would be to encourage the errors committed after the adoption of the Treaty of Nanking, and of that of Tientsin by the unfounded expectations on which excessive shipments of goods were made to China, if we were to hold out exaggerated hopes of enormously increased trade to Lancashire and Yorkshire, which we ourselves have no serious reasons to expect. Our assurance of an augmenting commerce lies, in my opinion, far more in the more active development of our present markets, than in any reasonable expectation of stumbling on important centres of trade, from which our goods are at present debarred by prohibitive rates of taxation. But one of the indispensable conditions of the extension of our trade is the absence of war or rebellion, because in times of trouble trade is paralyzed, and the taxation necessary to carry on hostilities cannot but be exorbitant.

We all know the extreme difficulty of obtaining information in China; and with what slow steps we are able to acquire a knowledge of the facts in which we are most interested.

At length, however, from the Report of the Delegates, and from other sources, we are in possession of such information as shows that we have been mistaken in supposing that barrier taxation was so excessive as to prevent foreign goods from passing into the markets of the interior. The question therefore before us is, not how we are to get rid of enormous transit taxes on our goods; but, rather, how best we can systematize and improve a mode of taxation which is cumbersome and wasteful, though by no means excessive.

The British Government propose to commute all inland taxes whatever, by payment at the port of entry of a fixed duty. If this fixed duty were merely a fraction of the various taxes for which it was offered as an equivalent, there would be little hope of its being voluntarily accepted by the Chinese authorities; and I think the British Government would refrain from pressing it. But from the fact that it will be impossible for goods to evade this duty at the port; and that, consequently, all imports and exports will be subjected to it, a commutation on a basis of 2½ per cent *ad valorem*, or, more correctly, half the Tariff duty, will, in reality, probably not be very much less than an equivalent for the inland taxation now levied. The Chinese will have the advantage of the full tax on every parcel of goods, the proceeds will be placed in their hands without any of the expense, uncertainty, and irregularity of the present system; and this maximum of benefit from the commuted duty of 2½ per cent, will be equivalent to a higher amount levied in their more primitive and less economical fashion. Thus, I regard this proposed levy of 2½ per cent at the port as an advantage both to ourselves and the Chinese, not as a benefit to one at the expense of the other; and the Peking Government have accepted it accordingly.

The application of half the increased Tariff duty to silk, in lieu of all barrier exactions, is guaranteed by the terms of Rule 11 appended to the Convention. It is therein stipulated, that the foreign Commissioners of Customs shall refund all barrier dues that may have been levied on silk, in its way to the port of export, in excess of half the Tariff duty; so that the practical result will be that, if more than half the Tariff duty is levied in transit, the excess will be deducted from the Tls. 20 of export duty.

In speaking even of 5 per cent as the import duty on foreign goods, I need hardly remind you that I am not strictly accurate, because the duties were calculated at 5 per cent on prices ruling twelve years ago. The actual import duty on Grey Shirtings amounts to only 4 per cent *ad valorem* on a price of Tls. 2.20 for 8⅓ lbs; so that, under the proposed arrangement, the 7½ per cent which is to be paid at the port of entry, and which is to free goods to any part of the empire, is, for Grey Shirtings, only in reality 6 per cent. On the other hand, in the case of 7 lbs. T-Cloths, the 7½ per cent stipulated for is, in reality, less than 4½ per cent on present prices; so that on these, the two most important staples amongst our Imports, taxation is much lighter than it seems.

I come now to consider a further question in connection with the taxation of the foreign trade. It will probably be said: we admit that internal taxation is light, that the proposed commutation is not inadequate, but that as the greater part of the revenue from the foreign trade is sent to Peking, to the detriment of the Provincial treasuries, it cannot be expected that the Provincial authorities will forego part of their legitimate revenue by endeavouring to carry out, successfully, the proposed system of commutation. On this question of the amount of the foreign revenue sent to Peking, considerable misapprehensions have prevailed, and in these we have all more or less shared. The general opinion, not very long ago, was that all of it went to Peking. Last year, a letter from Sir Rutherford Alcock was read, by Mr. Medhurst, to the Committee of the Chamber of Commerce, and afterwards privately printed, in which the following sentence occurs:—"The only amount remitted to Peking is the 4/10ths of the Maritime duties, set aside to repay the indemnities, and 3/10ths of the Transit Dues." This was received with a certain amount of surprise, but I now believe that Sir Rutherford was misinformed. To an enquiry that I lately put to one of the principal foreign officials of the Customs, the reply was that no portion of the Dues received, under the Transit Pass system, does go or ever went to Peking; and further, and even more important, that no portion of the Maritime Duties has ever gone or is now remitted to Peking—all the revenue derived from the foreign trade is retained in the Provincial treasuries. If this is so, then we must look at many of the conditions of our trade in an entirely new light. Certain enquiries have been made, in Shanghai, on the subject, which tend also to discredit Sir Rutherford's statement, although complete certainty has not been arrived at. These enquiries prove that, in the matter of the Transit Dues, there is no reason to suppose that any part of them was ever sent to Peking. Up till the end of 1865, four-tenths of the Maritime Duties went to pay the indemnities, and the remaining six-tenths went into the Provincial treasuries, so that up till that time the Peking Government received nothing whatever. Since then the Provincial authorities have retained at least eight-tenths of the Maritime Duties at Shanghai and as to whether the remaining two-tenths go to Peking, or are appropriated to the purpose of suppressing the formidable Mahomedan rebellion in Kansuh, or are applied to any other Provincial object, is uncertain. At the utmost, the Peking Government cannot receive more than one-fifth of the Maritime Duties; and thus, even if they receive this, which a well-informed authority says is not the case, there still remains the undoubted fact that the Provincial authorities receive nearly all, if not the whole, of the taxation to which the foreign trade is subjected.

Such being the case, the proposed commutation is intended to be a fair equivalent, payable to the Provincial authorities, for the barrier taxes which they levy at present. The danger, therefore, of goods having to pay at the port of entry and again at the barriers, is vastly diminished, when we consider that the Provincial authorities will receive the benefit of the tax at the port of entry entitling the goods to pass free into the interior. So that, on payment of an additional 2½ per cent, somewhat less, probably, than the average barrier taxation, all our textile fabrics are entitled to circulate freely in the nine Treaty-port Provinces, without being liable to any further charge whatever. I think the scheme perfectly feasible; and one likely to be tolerably successful, after a moderate time being allowed for its introduction. It is based on an important principle, namely that of the perfect freedom of transit, so well known to us in the West; and if we value the development of our trade, it would be difficult to name any other more desirable condition on which we could wish to have it placed. If the system is introduced, and is successful, we shall have, if we leave the 7½ per cent import duties out of the question, as great an absence of restrictions on our trade in China as we have in Great Britain itself. With such an important object in view we may well consent to make a trial.

But, involved in this system of unrestricted transit, there is the important concession that, henceforth, the distinction between foreign and native ownership of Imports shall cease. Of the importance of this provision all are, I imagine, thoroughly convinced; but as it has been asserted, over and over again, and by Mr. F. B. Johnson in his able and important "Memorandum upon Transit Dues for the consideration of the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce," that this concession already formed part of the Treaty of Tientsin, it may not be out of place to offer a few remarks on this question. Art. XXVIII of that Treaty recites, in the first paragraph, the manner in which the stipulations of the Treaty of Nanking regarding Transit Duties had not been observed; and provides that the authority appointed to superintend the collection of duties shall, within four months from the signing of the Treaty, declare what barrier duties are levied between the open port and the principal places of production and consumption in the interior, and these duties shall be published in English and Chinese, so that attempts at arbitrary levies may thus be defeated. Under this paragraph, therefore, goods can be sent into, or brought from the interior, on paying certain fixed barrier duties, which were to be published on the requisition of the Consul.

The next paragraph of the same article is as follows: "But it shall be at the option of any British subject, desiring to convey produce purchased inland to a port, or to convey imports from a port to an inland market, to clear his goods of all transit duties, by payment of a single charge." Now, if the English language is capable of conveying any accurate meaning at all, nothing can be more completely unmistakeable than that this commutation of the barrier duties is only to be "at the option of any British subject." And if further corroborative evidence is wanted, it will be found in Lord Elgin's letter * to Earl Malmesbury, dated Shanghai July 12th, 1858, wherein he says: "It seemed to be unreasonable to require that articles, whether of foreign or native production, by the simple process of passing into the hands of foreigners, should become entitled to the use of roads and canals toll-free, and should, moreover, be relieved altogether from charges to which they would be liable if the property of natives. On the other hand, experience had taught us the inconvenience of leaving the amount of duties payable under the head of transit-duties altogether undetermined. By requiring the rates of transit-duty to be published at each port, and by acquiring for the British subject the right to commute the said duties for a payment of 2½ per cent on the value, &c." Lord Elgin's intention is thus perfectly clear and determinate—the right of commutation of barrier dues is the distinct privilege of the British citizen, as contrasted with the liability of the native to pay the barrier dues as published in English and Chinese.† It is, nevertheless, at the option of the British merchant to pay the barrier dues as the natives do, or commute them.

I am, therefore, bound to conclude that, so far as Mr. Johnson and others maintain that the treaty of Tientsin did not contemplate the distinctive privileges of foreign and native ownership of goods, their views will not bear examination. How far this differential stipulation, in favour of foreigners, could be founded on any just principle, it is unnecessary for me to consider, well, also, not to overlook the fact that the Transit system, even as limited to foreign ownership, is extending. When the Treaty of Tientsin was framed, foreigners were impressed with the idea that they could, if permitted, appropriate at least a considerable share of the internal trade in articles entering into foreign commerce, and therefore Lord Elgin stipulated for the permission. But since that time, opinion has undergone considerable modification, and we are now tolerably well convinced that we cannot compete on equal terms with the natives; and that, therefore, the provision that excludes natives from now that the removal of the distinction is provided for by the Convention. It is the benefit of the Transit Pass system, is one of the great obstacles in the way of extended commerce. Still, even with the limitation to foreign ownership only, the Transit Pass system has, contrary to the opinion that we have been accustomed to accept, on insufficient grounds, gone on progressing; although, of course, it is needless to say it has not been carried out in its integrity in terms of the Treaty. The following are the figures pertaining to it for the last six years:—

Amount collected in commutation of Transit Duties.

1864	Tls.	39,043
1865	,,	87,693
1866	,,	27,248
1867	,,	66,892
1868	,,	118,308
1869	,,	147,343

Thus we see that the system is extending; and as the amount of internal trade done by foreigners is insignificant, it can only be from an extension of the operation of the commutation to native ownership, that we can hope for any much more important results. And as the mandarins permit the system to attain a certain amount of success, as regards foreigners, we have every reason to expect that an extension of the principle to natives will attain a measure of success infinitely more beneficial to foreign trade than the present limited system is, under the most favourable circumstances, capable of.

Passing now to the non-Treaty-port Provinces, it is provided that there the Transit Pass system shall have effect, without, however, any further payment than the Tariff duty and a half at the port of entry. No additional tax whatever is to be paid; but, as in these provinces less is known of foreign goods and foreign methods than in the others, the Transit Pass system is to continue in them for the better protection of the foreign trade, where the Peking Government seem to be less confident of their ability to carry the system of free transit into successful operation.

That this system of free transit for our manufactures will, if adopted, be an immediate success, we can scarcely be sanguine enough, altogether, to expect; but that the removal of the distinction as to ownership, and such success in the working of unrestricted transit as we may fairly look for, will prove a considerable step in advance of the present system, we can scarcely permit ourselves to doubt. In short, these two concessions on the part of the Chinese, provide for the ultimate possible measure of freedom of transit, with every reason to expect that, within two or at most three years, the system will be moderately successful; and it will indeed be strange if foreigners insist on the present unsatisfactory method, when the Chinese Government offer them the latest refinement of fiscal economy as practised by the most advanced European nations.

* Correspondence relative to Lord Elgin's Mission pp. 345-346.

† This publication in English and Chinese was afterwards dispensed with, in terms of Rule 7, appended to the Treaty.

As to the remaining stipulations in the Convention, the opening of Wuhu and Wênchow; the right of carrying goods into the interior in vessels not propelled by steam, and of residing there under passport; bonded warehouses; steam tug on the Poyang Lake; certain changes as to Tea bonds, Drawbacks, Manifests, Tonnage Dues, &c.; reduction of duty on a few minor articles, and abolition of duty on materials used in Docks for repair of ships; certain of the advantages of a Treaty port to be extended to Hongkong; the appointment by China of Consuls in any of the ports in the British dominions, &c.—as to all these, I repeat, there is little to be said; they are really so insignificant that it is scarcely necessary to do more than name them.

Whatever may have been the ideas at one time entertained regarding the importance of residence in the interior, our knowledge is now sufficient to indicate that the advantages to be derived from such a step have been entirely over-estimated. It is impossible for us to conceal from ourselves, that there are certain difficulties in the way of foreigners residing in the interior, which can only be met by some restriction such as that now proposed in the Convention. We desire some satisfactory system, admitting of the most ample liberty of travel, with a right of residence limited by time or by the necessity of renewal. The internal trade is, and will continue to be, in the hands of the natives; of that, I think the last ten years have afforded ample proof; and what is needed is liberty to enable us to examine and inform ourselves regarding the conditions of trade, and the mineral and other resources of the empire, and to check abuses of taxation, and supervise the development of commerce and the freer interchange of products. For this the Convention makes satisfactory provision; and, notwithstanding the amount of testimony that has been expressed in a different sense, the question of increased facilities for residing in the interior, beyond those now offered is, in my opinion, of comparatively little importance.

It is impossible not to regret that steam communication has not been extended by the Convention; and that one or two more leading centres of trade on the vast water-ways that intersect the empire, have not been added to the list of open ports. It is certainly disappointing to find that the Chinese Government refuse to open Ichang and Chungking; and that obstruction to the most useful measures still seems to be uppermost in the minds of the Chinese authorities. But we cannot control these tendencies. We have passed into a stage of international relations where the influence of pressure has ceased to pervade our policy, and where the weak and obstructive opposition of the Chinese rulers to beneficial changes is accepted as the enlightened conduct of progressive statesmanship. There can be firmness without force, responsible pressure without injustice, well-considered demands without the accompaniment of war or revolution. But in this the British Government has ceased to believe.

In such circumstances, let us look at the clear issue that is now raised. The question is not whether we shall accept the Convention, or reject it and obtain something more comprehensive. It is ours to choose whether we shall have the Convention or the Treaty of Tientsin, and I feel bound to choose the alternative of the Convention as a decided gain to our commercial interests. If the issue were between the Convention and some attainable scheme of greater comprehensiveness, the case would be very different. But every change that is a gain to us has the further merit of accustoming the Chinese officials to progressive movement, and of rousing them from their traditional torpor; and as the question of revision can, by the Convention, again be raised at any time, I think it would be a mistaken policy to reject the terms that are now offered."

After some remarks by Mr. Hertz, and by the Rev. E. Syle.

Mr. Kingsmill remarked that the apologetic tone assumed by Mr. Robertson, who, as the meeting was aware, was one of the chief supporters of the new Convention, seemed to carry with it a certain consciousness of the shortcomings of that document. He accepted, with much pleasure, the introduction to the paper; and was glad to notice that Mr. Robertson looked upon the capture of Canton, and the occupation of Peking by the allied forces, as having been productive of great benefits to foreign trade, and to the Chinese themselves. He thought circumstances in China, in 1869, were not very unlike what they were before the breaking out of the "Arrow" war; and that we were rapidly drifting into the same path which had proved so disastrous in those years. He felt that, in this assemblage, there were few who did not agree with him in condemnation of a Convention made, as Mr. Robertson suggested, at the instance of a feeble Ministry at home. Mr. Robertson had made some statements, however, which required contradiction. With regard to differential dues, he had told the meeting that none such existed in China, or had ever been made a cause of complaint. He, however, (Mr. Kingsmill) could state from experience that, at all events during the early portion of his residence in China, such complaints were almost universal. His first experience of a treaty port was, finding on his landing, the whole community in a state of excitement, over an attempt at making a monopoly of the sale of opium; since that period, he had seldom visited one of the outports without encountering complaints of a similar nature. It was true that, of late years, the evil had diminished, but this was mainly to be attributed to the action of the Transit pass system. He, moreover, held in his hand the report of the Chamber of Commerce meeting, of the 7th May, 1869, which shows clearly how injuriously such differential duties worked. Thus, Nankeens shipped from Shanghai to Foochow, in native craft, paid four mace six candareens, while the same shipped by natives in foreign vessels, paid no less than three taels, or nearly seven times the former. Referring to this matter, he quoted a letter from the Commissioner of Customs at this port, stating his dissatisfaction at this state of affairs, and protesting at being called on to administer a tax founded on the principle of discrimination between the nationality of the owners of the goods. The paper had, however, stated that the new Convention contained too much good to be lightly thrown away, and that, if the Chinese Government carried it out, it would be productive of immense benefit. He, however, objected to the use of the word *if*. *If* the Chinese had kept their engagements, there would have been no need for the Treaties of Nanking, of Tientsin, nor, he need not add, of this present Convention. With no other nation were treaties required for the conduct of trade, and he did not see why China should be the only exception. The alleged benefits of the Convention were that our goods were to penetrate into the interior, in return for which they were to pay a much heavier rate of taxation. Here he differed from the principle of this instrument; in the one case we gave up to China a large additional tax, while, in return, we gained nothing but a bare promise. England, on the one side, were the Convention ratified, would be forced in honour to adhere to her engagements,

while no such feeling actuated the Chinese Government. He would ask what steps were being taken by that Government to carry out its stipulations, in case of the ratification of the Convention. He stated that not one move had been made. No communications had been opened with the provinces; there was no sign that the slightest alteration in the present system of barrier taxes was in contemplation; everything, in fact, remained *in statu quo*. Yet the stipulations for the free circulation of foreign goods demanded a radical change in this particular. On the other hand, the stipulations of the Treaty of Tientsin worked fairly. Mr. Robertson had spoken of the low rate of duty, charged on goods proceeding to the principal inland marts. This was clearly established so far as the principal highways of internal commerce were concerned. He, however, attributed the low rate to the effect of the transit duties' clause. It was always optional to the importer to obtain the transit pass, and the knowledge of this was made use of by him in settling the dues payable on the road. In case of any attempt at an exorbitant levy, he had always the pass to fall back on, and the threat of doing so, which would deprive the taxing officer of all his share of the duties, was, in the great majority of instances, sufficient to induce him to reduce the rates of passage. This was the main reason why so few transit passes were taken out, in proportion to the amount of goods passing into the interior. The clause led to a practical commutation of duties down to a fair standard, while every one obtained his own share of the proceeds. The Government had its duties, the local officers their share in the proceeds, while the merchant was able to make a favourable sale. The statement that foreign goods, irrespective of ownership, were freely circulated, was put forward by admirers of the Convention as one of the advantages gained. He would only refer to a despatch of Sir Rutherford Alcock's, of the 1st April 1869, bearing on this topic:—

"The treaty right, therefore, is admittedly this: that all imports and exports, being *bona fide* constituents of foreign trade, as distinguished from a coasting or Chinese trade only in foreign hands, may be certified for transit, and sent from one end of the empire to the other, exempt from all taxes or charges, other than the tariff of imports and commuted inland or transit dues of 2½ per cent; and this whether the goods or produce may be in Chinese or foreign hands."

Such was the state of the question in April; he would like to know, therefore, what new circumstances had arisen, before the end of the year, to render the clause of the Convention referred to necessary?

With regard to the increase in silk duties, Mr. Robertson had made the startling announcement that really a reduction was to be the result, and proved this in a most ingenious manner, by at once doing away with the tax of Tls. 22.50 now levied in the interior under the name of a license fee, stating that as a natural consequence of the ratification of the Convention it would be remitted. He did not anticipate this result. The Convention was explicit in stating that all transit dues levied in excess of 2½ per cent would be returned, but made no mention of the other levies. This tax was, however, originally levied on producers with the express intention of removing it from the category of transit charges. This fact was well known at Peking at the time of the signature of the Convention; and he looked upon it as one of the worst features of that document, that no attempt was made to do away with this obnoxious levy. In the absence, therefore, of any more definite stipulation, he feared that the Tls. 10, provided in the Convention, would remain as a permanently increased tax on the export of silk. He did not now enter upon the impolicy of taxes on exports; that was a subject for the consideration of the Chinese Government. All were, however, interested in the continuance of a trade in which much capital was invested; and therefore, in behalf of those resident in China, as well as of those interested in trade with China, he protested against an extra burden being placed on an article which had to enter into competition with the rest of the world. With regard to Mr. Robertson's general statement, that the internal transit dues levied in China were extremely light, he would only refer to the neighbouring port of Chinkiang, before the settlement of the barrier affair at Wei-kwan. Piece goods, for instance, were liable to be taxed between that port and Tsin-kiang-pu, a town only a little more than a hundred miles distant, at rates amounting to 13 per cent and upwards. Eleven per cent was levied on many descriptions proceeding to Nanking, only 45 miles distant. In fact, while competition, and the threat of taking transit passes, induced a light taxation on goods proceeding to the great marts of the interior, no sooner did those goods attempt to enter the surrounding country, than they were surrounded by a system of taxation which rendered their passage, beyond a few miles, practically impossible. Whenever the beaten tracks were left, articles of foreign import rapidly disappeared from the native shops.

Mr. MEDHURST begged leave to say a word or two. He could not enter so elaborately into statistical details as his indefatigable friend, Mr. Kingsmill, had done, but he would wish to point out one or two important considerations in connection with Mr. Robertson's able paper. In the first place, much stress had been placed by Mr. Robertson, and all other persons in favor of the Convention, on the fact that it had been voluntarily conceded by the Chinese, and had not been the result, like previous treaties, of warlike pressure. So far from the Chinese deserving any credit in this respect he thought it was very much the other way. The Chinese Government had, all along, entertained a vague apprehension of the possible consequences of a revision of treaties to themselves, and so great had this apprehension become, toward the approach to the time for revision, that they had instructed the high functionaries in the Provinces to memorialise and advise the Throne, how the demands of the British and other Governments, which it was taken for granted would prove unreasonable, could best be met. These directions were faithfully obeyed, and one or two of the many state papers which followed have met the public eye, and sufficed to prove that the Chinese have all along feared pressure, and no doubt they have been only too glad to find the result, in the shape of the Convention, such a favorable one for themselves, and, at the same time, one so free from hard conditions.

The second point worthy of notice, Mr. Medhurst considered to be, the unreliableness of all treaties with China, owing to the disadvantageous circumstances under which these are concluded, as far as foreigners are concerned. On the one side, Great Britain and other nations enter into their Conventions with a sincere desire to avoid all that is exacting or unreasonable, and an honest intention to fulfil their obligations to the very letter. The Chinese, on the other hand, only yield what they cannot possibly avoid giving; and with the fixed intention to retreat from the concession as soon, and as conveniently, as they can. This, at any rate, had been the experience of past years; and the speaker thought the day was still far distant when both parties could

be said to enter into such compacts upon a common footing, and with the same commendable, reliable spirit actuating both sides.

Mr. HANBURY said he had listened with much pleasure to the valuable and elaborate paper of Mr. Robertson, with much of which he entirely agreed; and he was glad to find some one with the courage fairly to set before them the arguments that could be adduced, on what might be called the unpopular side of the question. An immense difference existed between the circumstances attending the signing of the treaty of Tientsin, ten years ago, and those obtaining at the time of the conclusion of the Convention of Pekin; in the one case, the Chinese were ready to sign anything and everything, to secure peace from their victors; now, however, the pressure had been removed, and the Convention was the result of two years' hard work and earnest endeavour, on the part of Sir Rutherford Alcock, to obtain the best terms possible for the mercantile interests he represented. He (Mr. H.) was surprised to hear what had fallen from Mr. Medhurst as to the dread of the Chinese for this revision, because we had lately heard that, at the outset of the negociations at Pekin, they had actually given notice that they intended to double the duties on tea, silk, and opium. It was useless for the China merchants to shut their eyes to the fact that a position of equality, in negociating treaties, had been conceded to the Chinese by European nations, and by the United States. And what did equality mean?—as regards the tariff, it meant the right that no statesman would for a moment question in the case of Greece, Portugal, Turkey, and other weak nationalities, that of fixing the rate at which they would admit the manufactures of other countries, without so much as consulting those other countries.

We heard much, in the present day, of the need for progress, and the acceptance of Western ideas, amongst the Chinese. Speaking as a merchant, and from a selfish point of view, he trusted there might be, in one sense, no more progress until the Convention was ratified; for it was only the ignorance and inertness of the Chinese Government that kept them from perceiving that their tariff is the lightest in the world, and the amount of revenue raised by it insignificant when compared with other nations. Let them become a little more enlightened, and they would not be slow to see that the English Government raises from the two articles, tea and opium, double the amount the Chinese derive from the whole foreign trade. He (Mr. H.) dreaded the day when the Chinese would find out that they, too, had native manufactures to protect; and, taking example from what many consider the most advanced foreign nation, (the United States) would demand 20, 30, or even 50 per cent on textile fabrics. Nor could we conceal from ourselves the fact, however unpalatable, that neither the English nor any foreign nation was at all likely to go to war to compel the acceptance, by the Chinese, of a low tariff. Having, therefore, a moderate tariff in the Convention presented to us, he would counsel its acceptance.

It was quite true there were faults in it; and, perhaps, the worst that could be named was the failure to provide for the further use of steam power in the interior. The clause compelling us to use vessels of native build and rig was degrading. The clause providing for the opening of further ports, except as points for steamers to touch at, was useless.—It had been abundantly proved we could not compete with natives in the trade of the interior; and he could not call to mind a single instance of any foreigner realizing a fortune by the Yang-tsze trade. He had tried it himself, and was forced to confess he was completely beaten by the Chinese; and that his case was no exception was proved by the dwindling character of trade, in the hands of foreigners, at Kiukiang and Hankow, and the depreciation in real estate there, which could now be purchased at 90 a 98 per cent discount on its cost. The experience gained at the new ports opened by the treaty of Tientsin, he considered as most bitter.

It was impossible to have foreigners scattered all over the country, because they would not submit to be governed by Chinese laws; and the Home Government were not willing greatly to extend the Consular establishments, the increased cost of which they would see had lately been complained of in the House of Commons. Concentration at great trading centres, with the interior trade regulated by the natives, we supplying steam communication, would be found the most advisable and profitable.

Mr. HOLLINGWORTH said that according to Mr. Robertson the British Government of India got Tls. 200 out of every picul of opium. But Mr. R. had also informed them that the inland dues on native opium sold in Hankow, Kiukiang, &c., was Tls. 150. It would not, he supposed be pretended that the inland dues on foreign opium was less;—so that the Chinese Government, getting an Import Duty of Tls. 50 of inland dues, according to Mr. R., derived from the opium as large a revenue as the British Government. But his great objection to the Convention was his conviction that the Chinese would never carry it out. All experience justified that conviction. According to the Treaty of Tientsin, the Transit Duty for Tea was Tls. 1.25. But Tseng-kwo-fan, when governor of the two Kiangs, issued a proclamation that Tea should pay Tls. 1.40 at the inland mart. The foreigners at Kiukiang remonstrated against paying this in addition to the Treaty Duty, and were let off with Tls. 1.40, but could not recover the 1 mace 5 candareens over the Treaty rate paid one firm, who resolved to establish a glaring case for reference to Pekin, by paying all they were asked, paid Tls. 3.0.0 per picul, none of which they had been able to recover. In short, in his opinion, the Convention was worth no more than so much waste paper.

The CHAIRMAN would only make a few brief remarks, before asking Mr. Robertson to reply; though the arguments had been well-nigh exhausted by previous speakers.

It had been observed that such rapid changes had taken place in political opinion, that ten years later the Treaty of Tientsin would have been impossible. This was perhaps true; had the occurrences at Canton, of 1856, happened in 1866, no doubt Sir John Bowring would have been ordered to apologise to Yeh, instead of Lord Elgin's being sent to make the Treaty of Tientsin. But the highly-conservative and anti-progressive tone of the present English Cabinet was not so new as is often supposed. We were now astonished at the determination of Great Britain and America to treat China as their equal, though they made the rather important reservation of declining to trust it with the lives of their people. But the records of British intercourse with China shew that, in the days of the East India Company, Great Britain dealt with China as with a superior; so that the present temper of our Government is not really so retrograde as appears. The rule has always been, that the foreigners who were resident in China, and knew something about the position of affairs, advocated a policy of extended intercourse with the country; while the ruling powers in England have been trying to prevent this, from motives of mistaken prudence. Thus the "ex-

periment," which the E. I. Co.'s supercargoes in Canton wished to try, of bringing European females to Canton, was promptly denounced by the Court of Directors. Again, the interesting voyage of the ship "Amherst" to Shanghai, in 1832, the fruits of which we are now enjoying, was condemned by the mouth-pieces of the policy of England at that time. The improvement that has taken place in China has been the work of the people on the spot, thwarted in every way by the ignorant Government at home. There was one brilliant period of exception to this rule, the generation, namely, over which Lord Palmerston presided. But before and since the reign of that great statesman, the views of the home authorities, and of the merchants and others on the spot, have been antagonistic. Events, however, have progressed in their own way, in spite of all theories and narrow-minded fears; and so, we may hope, the current will continue to flow in the direction it has taken. We must fight our way as we have done before, expecting steady opposition on the part of those who ought to be wiser; but there is no doubt we shall succeed in opening up China sooner or later. It is a mistake to suppose that future Treaties with China must necessarily be worse than those that have preceded them.

The author of the paper has laid great stress on the moderateness of the Chinese Tariff, which, however, has never been in question; and he contrasts it with others, notably those of the United States and Canada. This is hardly relevant to the matter, as there is no parallel at all between those countries and China. To establish such a parallel, we must suppose the American rivers, except for about half the navigable length of one of them, forbidden to steamboats; railroads also forbidden, and no road wider than to admit a wheel-barrow. Under these conditions, a much smaller tariff than even 5 per cent would suffice to ruin those countries; and to produce the spectacle of millions of people famishing in one place, with abundance of food rotting in another.

With regard to the important question of Transit Dues, it will be remembered that the stipulation in the Treaty of Nankin was to the effect that the *existing* levies should be commutable for a fixed payment, the amount being left to be determined on information being received from the Chinese authorities. The information was not furnished for sixteen years; and, in its absence, Lord Elgin was driven, in 1858, to fix a rate himself, which he did at half the Tariff Duty. This has been assumed to be a fair commutation for the various inland duties. But the question now before the meeting is, not whether this rate is too much or too little, but simply whether, on payment of the commutation, foreign merchants will really get what they pay for, viz., exemption from all inland charges. He (the speaker) was bound to say they were warranted by all past experience in doubting this; and if that stipulation were not carried out, by the Chinese, the Treaty would fail in one of its most essential points. Very great importance has also been attached, by all those who have undertaken to support this Convention, to the fact that, contrary to previous Treaties, it is *voluntary* on the part of the Chinese. We have heard, to-night, good reasons for believing the contrary; but, admitting the assertion, why should the Convention not be voluntary? The Chinese get everything their own way—that is, practically, Tls. 2,000,000 of extra duty; and it would be strange indeed if the acceptance of this sum by them should not be voluntary. The conditions on which this is purchased are, however, not voluntary. The American diplomatic correspondence shews that the necessary equivalents were reluctantly yielded; and other unmistakeable evidences of insincerity are found in the way in which the various "equivalents" are brought to bear. Bonded warehouses and such-like, which are matters of convenience merely, and not fit subjects of treaty stipulations at all, are scraped together, and, in the most solemn manner, made to appear concessions by the Chinese, in exchange for the substantial advantages they receive in the increased duties. The establishment of a tug-boat on the Poyang lake, is declared by Sir Rutherford Alcock himself, in his despatch of ... ...to be of no appreciable value; yet, four months later, it figures in the Convention as a set off against the increase of the duty on opium, amounting to over a million of Taels, and is, in fact, the only one of the five items which are made to balance the increased duty on opium, which has even the semblance of a concession. In short, in the sense of being favourable to trade, and to foreigners, the Treaty is clearly anything but voluntary. The Peking Government gave as little as they possibly could; they bought us at the very lowest price, and of course there is no evidence whatever that they are more likely to pay us that price than they have been heretofore. The main objection to the Convention would have been obviated, had the payment of commuted Transit Dues been continued optional. What necessity there was to make it compulsory has never been explained, though the fact has often been asserted.

The merits of the increase of the duty on opium, so far as this discussion is concerned, are very simple. Mr. Robertson defends it, on the ground that opium is one of those articles of luxury, if not of vice, which even civilized governments subject to excessive taxation. It is true that some civilized governments treat ardent spirits in this arbitrary manner, but it has not been proved that it is wise to do so. In fact the system may be pronounced a failure, seeing that the very class who are intended to be benefitted, by the prohibitory tax, are the only real sufferers by the evils of alcohol—that is, the poorest class. They will obtain drink at all hazards, and the high price it bears merely intensifies their misery or accelerates their ruin. As regards opium; Mr. Thos. Taylor Meadows, three-and-twenty years ago, propounded the doctrine, which is well worthy of attention, that the best cure for opium smoking was to make it cheap, and consequently common; a view which is to some extent borne out by experience, for, in Szechuen, where opium is a common product of the country, the fashion is already setting in against the use of the drug. But that is quite beyond the question now before us, which is, as Mr. Robertson has clearly put it, whether, a certain revenue being obtainable out of the trade in opium, it shall be appropriated by the Chinese or the Indian Government. As far as a Convention signed by a British Minister is concerned in this issue, there cannot be two opinions; Sir R. Alcock, as the servant of his country, was bound to make the best bargain he could for the Government of British India; and judged by this criterion, the opium clause in the Treaty stands condemned from the English point of view.

Mr. ROBERTSON said that at that late hour he would content himself with a very few observations, in reply to the speeches that had been made. He could not pass over the remarks of Mr. Kingsmill on the subject of differential duties; because the instances referred to were not differential, as between foreign, and native goods. What had been said in his paper was that there was no proof that, at the barriers, any higher duties were

levied on foreign goods, because they were foreign than on native goods, and therefore he had been right in saying that there was no differential taxation as against foreign goods. The cases which Mr. Kingsmill had instanced belong to the coast trade, in which we had been permitted to engage on certain conditions as to duties on goods carried in foreign vessels, to which the foreign Ministers had agreed; and because these were not the same as were payable at the native Custom houses on goods carried by junks, Mr. Kingsmill applied to these the name differential. We urged the Chinese to open the coast trade to us on these terms, and if the duties were higher by foreign vessels, the advantage which these latter had over junks was such that they had in great measure driven them off the coast. But foreign goods in junks shared the smaller duty when it was smaller, equally with native goods; while native goods in foreign vessels had to pay the higher duty of the foreign tariff, if it was in excess of the native duty. As to the statement of Sir Rutherford Alcock, quoted by Mr. Kingsmill, regarding foreign and native ownership of goods, no one knew better than that gentleman himself (Mr. K.) that it was inaccurate. The Treaty of Tientsin and the practice of the last ten years were opposed to it, although, doubtless, a good deal of conflict of opinion was on record on the subject. As to exports, Sir Rutherford's statement had never been entertained, so far as he was aware; and in fact it amounted almost to an impossibility, because declaration of ownership had to be made which excluded natives, and produce could not be sold in transit without being liable to confiscation. Referring to Mr. Medhurst's statement, that the Convention had been obtained by the same pressure as the Treaty of Tientsin, Mr. Robertson quoted from the Elgin Blue Book to show that, after the Treaty was signed, the Chinese applied to have it modified, on the ground that they had been compelled to agree to it under military pressure, whereas now they have only agreed to what they are willing to give. They would never have voluntarily signed the Treaty of Tientsin, but they offered the Convention. On the question of the bad faith of the Chinese, he quite agreed with Mr. Medhurst and some of the other speakers, and he had not put forward any expectation that perfect good faith would be observed in carrying out the Convention. But he thought it would be a great mistake to reject the Convention because it would not be satisfactorily carried out, and continue under the Treaty of Tientsin which was not satisfactorily carried out.

He entirely agreed with Mr Hanbury in thinking that the entire burdens on the foreign trade were not such as we could complain of, and that so long as civilised governments impose prohibitive tariffs it was difficult to see how we could compel the Chinese to reduce or not to raise their low tariff.

Mr. Hollingworth had just shown what he had been endeavouring to prove to them, that taxation was heavier as a rule than the Treaty warranted, but not much in excess. The Treaty Transit Duty on Tea was Tls. 1.25, whereas the actual amount paid in the case of Ningchow Teas, by Mr. Hollingworth, was Tls. 1.40; and if the Convention, when departed from, was only abused to the extent of 15 cents in Tls. 1.25, he would hardly agree in thinking that it "was worth no more than so much waste paper."

He did not think the Convention the best arrangement that could be proposed, but that was not the question. It was the best that we were likely in the meantime to get, and he considered it would be a mistake to refuse it, and to have to continue under the stipulations of the Treaty of Tientsin.

Ack

Edmunds. Send a copy to Baron Gerolt & ask him to bring these questions to the attention of his govt, & if he has any questions to make — Also send a copy to the Navy Dept

Mr Bath



Ack Baron Gerolt 25 aug. 1870.

Do Navy Dept 24 Aug

No 11

Frederick F Low

— to —

Department of State

Peking June 21. 1870

Acknowledges receipt of Department despatch No 8, and gives his opinions as to the difficulties to be encountered in suppressing piracy on the coast of China; also gives the outline of a plan for accomplishing the desired result

No 11

Legation of the United States

Peking June 21. 1870

Sir:-

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your No 8 under date of April 20th, enclosing copies of correspondence between the Chancellor of the North German Union and the Department concerning a proposition for combined action by the Western Powers for the suppression of piracy in Chinese waters; the instructions of the Secretary

Hon Hamilton Fish

Secretary of State

Secretary of the Navy to Admiral Rodgers touching the same subject, and also farther instructions looking to negociations with Corea

While the fact is patent that piracy on the coast of China is an evil that should, in the interest of commerce as well as humanity be suppressed, the practicability of the plan purposed, to accomplish the object, appears to me questionable

The Chinese Government has, from time to time, made spasmodic efforts to suppress it, but their action has met with but partial success from

from the lack of proper armed
Vessels necessary for such an
undertaking. During the past
two or three years considerable
activity has been exhibited in
the construction of proper Vessels,
and, as a result, several gun
boats of convenient size and
apparently well adapted to the
purpose, have been constructed
at the Arsenals at Shanghai
and Foochow. In addition
to these some three or four
Vessels of a similar class have
been built in England under
the direction of the Inspector
General of Maritime Customs,
for service on the Coast, to
suppress

suppress smuggling, or capture pirates, or both. With anything like energetic action on the part of the native Authorities the vessels they now have, & with such auxiliary aid as could be safely and properly rendered by the fleets of friendly nations in these waters, an effectual stop could be put to these sea marauders

The piratical craft are in model, build and rig the same as the native junks which swarm the coast & engaged in legitimate trade, which renders it difficult for a foreign vessel to distinguish

distinguish one from the other, or be certain that any junk is engaged in piratical operations unless caught in the act. — which is seldom the case. Even if they did contain evidence sufficient to indicate with certainty the character of their nefarious occupation, their apprehension would involve the necessity of absolute rights of search of all trading vessels, — a rule, I apprehend, the United States would hardly care, by their own action, to revive, after having fought against it, by word

and and ded, so long and
so successfully

In view of the difficulties
indicated, the plan contemplated
by the North German Union—
— of combined action on the
part of foreign nations, without
aid or direction from the
Chinese Authorities, to suppress
piracy—, does not, in my
judgment, appear either wise
or expedient. Even if it
did not involve complications
with the Chinese Government,
it would be almost certain
to entail upon the Government
undertaking it, claims for
damages for wrongful seizure,

many

many of which would be meritorious.

The better and more effectual plan would be, for the Treaty Powers to inform the Chinese Government that their fleets are ready to cooperate with the armed vessels belonging to the native Authorities for the suppression of piracy; the latter taking the initiative in any expedition for that purpose, and assuming the responsibility for any and all unnecessary search, and also for the decision as to which are and which are not pirates. In no other way can

Complications

complications be avoided; and besides this plan would meet the views of the Chinese Authorities better than any other

The instructions to Admiral Rodgers appear to have been issued with a clear comprehension of the difficulties surrounding the undertaking; and while there is little to fear from any action he may take under these instructions, any exertions he may make, without the aid and support of the Chinese will, I fear, be productive of barren results.

In submitting my views and

and opinions for your consideration; I beg to say that, they are based upon the best information obtainable here, after careful consideration and an impartial review of the whole subject; and I trust they may be of some value in the discussions of this subject with the other Treaty Powers

I have the honor to be

Sir,

Your obedient servant

Frederick F. Low

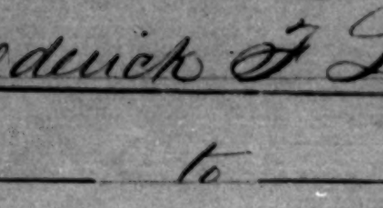
Encl 1 / Desp



Mr Pratt

Administration
dies 21 Sept.

No 12. 5 Enclosures



Frederick F Low

to

Department of State

Peking June 27. 1870

Giving a detailed account of a riot that occurred at Tientsin by which 19 foreigners and a number of chinese lost their lives; and the destruction of the French Consulate and the buildings of the Roman Catholic Mission

No 12 5 Enclosures

Legation of the United States
Peking June 27. 1870

Sir:—

It becomes my painful duty to inform you that on the 21st instant a terrible riot occurred at Tientsin, which resulted in the death of sixteen (16) French subjects, three (3) Russians, and the destruction of the French Consulate, Roman Catholic Cathedral and the Establishments of the Sisters of Charity. In addition to the foreigners killed

Hon Hamilton Fish
Secretary of State

killed, several native Christians, as well as the servants & employed in and about the Mission Establishment and Consulate were put to death. The exact number of these unfortunate Chinese it is, as yet, impossible to ascertain

This tragedy was enacted on the afternoon of the 21st instant; news of which reached Peking in the evening of the 22nd The scene of the sack was in the Chinese City, some two miles distant from the "Concession" — where most of the foreigners reside. Notwithstanding this, the excitement and alarm among

among all foreigners living on the "Concession" at Tientsin, have been great, fearing an attack upon the foreign settlements, without regard to nationality. As no foreigner has, as yet, dared to venture into the Chinese city, where the outrages were committed, our information in regard to the origin of this sad affair is meagre, and much of it contradictory. Most of the information comes through Chinese channels, and it is necessary to hear all sides in order to come to any reasonable conclusion as to the truth of the matter.

Even now, I am only able to give you my opinions as to the facts, which may

may be modified, or changed entirely, by future evidence

In order that you may be able to see and understand the whole case clearly, it is important that you should have before you the history of these Catholic Establishments and their management in China; which appear to have been the sole cause of the riot.

At many of the principal places in China, open to foreign residence, the Sisters of Charity have established institutions, each of which appears to combine in itself a foundling hospital and orphan asylum

asylum. Finding that the Chinese were averse to placing children in their charge, the managers of these institutions offered a certain sum per head for all the children placed under their control — given to them —; it being understood that a child once in their asylum, no parent relative or guardian could claim or exercise any control over it.

It has been, for some time, asserted by the Chinese, and believed by most of the non Catholic foreign population residing here, that the system of paying bounties, induced the kidnapping

of

of children for these institutions for the sake of the reward. It is also asserted, - and I believe it to be true - that the priests, or sisters, or both have been in the habit of holding out inducements to have children brought to them in the last stages of illness, for the purpose of being baptized in articulo mortis. In this way many children have been taken to these establishments in the last stages of disease, baptized there, and soon after taken away dead. All these acts, together with the secrecy and seclusion in which

which appears to be a part and parcel of the regulations which govern institutions of this character everywhere, have created suspicions in the minds of the Chinese, and these suspicions have engendered an intense hatred against the Sisters, on the part of all the common people who live anywhere near a Mission; and any rumor concerning the Sisters or their acts, however improbable and absurd, found thousands of willing and honest believers among this ignorant and superstitious people.

Sometime about the

end

end of May or beginning of June an epidemic prevailed at the Sisters' institution at Tientsin, and a considerable number of the children died. In some way the report got abroad that the sisters were killing the children to get their eyes and hearts for the purpose of manufacturing some sort of a medical specific, much sought after in Europe, and commanding a fabulous price. This report spread from one to another, and soon the belief became general among the common people, notably

in

in Tientsin but for many
miles around. I heard of the
excitement as early as the 5th
of June. Crowds of people
assembled from time to time
near the Mission buildings, indulging
in excited and angry conversation,
and on more than one
occasion demanded of the
Sisters that the Children should
be liberated. It is said that
one day, the crowd became
so noisy and violent that
the Sisters, fearing violence
from the mob, consented
that an examination
should be made by a
committee of five. The
Consul

Council hearing of the disturbance made his appearance about this time, and although the Committee had been elected and were then in the building, he stopped the whole proceeding, and drove the committee from the building with angry words; and some say he used his cane in expelling them. Subsequently the District Magistrate took a man, who had been industriously spreading the reports; who said he could point out the persons that were guilty of acts of sorcery

and

and other crimes, to question
him in presence of the Sisters;
and when confronted by them
admitted that all his stories
were without foundation and
false. This appeased to quiet
matters for a few days, but
the excitement soon revived
again, apparently more intense
than before: the populace
now demanding the release
of the Children as a vindication

The day prior to the outbreak
the District Magistrate — who
is about on a par in point
of rank and authority with the
Mayor of one of our Cities —
Called upon the French Consul

and,

and stated that, unless a permission be given for a thorough examination of the Sisters Establishment, it was difficult to foretell the result. The Consul construing this language into a threat replied that the Magistrate being inferior in rank to the Consul, no negociation could take place between them for the purpose of indication, or any other

On the afternoon of the 21st the mob assembled in front of the Consulate, making a great noise and throwing stones and other

missiles

missiles at the buildings.
Seeing the impracticability
of dispersing the mob unaided,
the Consul started for
the Yamun (Office) of
Chunghow — the highest officer
living in Tientsin — for the
purpose of asking assistance
to quell the riotous proceedings.
Notwithstanding Chunghow's
statements, that the Consul
fired a pistol at him in his
Yamun, I don't believe it.
The Consul undoubtedly
reached the Yamun of
of Chunghow in a state of
excitement bordering upon
insanity, told his business,
and

and started out again accompanied by some Mexicans

When he reached the street he met the mob, noisy and turbulent, and in the excitement he, I doubt not, shot two two or three shots from his revolver, at the crowd. This appears to have been the signal for the bloody work of the mob. The Consul and his clerk were immediately killed; and as all accounts agree substantially with the report of Mr Meadows, as to the subsequent action of the mob, I beg to refer you to Mr Meadows

letters

letters which accompany this despatch.

As an evidence of the wide spread knowledge of what was going on at Tientsin, and the evident determination of the people generally, that no information should reach Peking until their fancied wrongs had been avenged, I would refer to the fact that the Courier that was entrusted with Mr Meadows' letter, was intercepted some distance this side of Tientsin, seized, beaten terribly and carried back to Tientsin with his arms. Several couriers despatched

& the other Legations recive
similar treatment; so that
for two or three days the
foreign residents of Peking
were considerably excited,
fearing that the contagion
might spread to this City
The news being known among
the natives here quite as soon
as it was by Legations, caused
considerable commotion for
a while. The native
workmen engaged in the
erection of a building for
the Sisters in this City quit
their work, and the servants
at the Catholic Establishments,
and some at the French Legation
took

took "French leave"

The reported attrocities connected with the assassination of the sisters seem too horrible and fiendish for belief. If true it goes to show to what a pitch of phrenzy ~~the~~ ignorance and superstition ~~[illegible]~~ can be wrought, by rumors too absurd for belief by any educated and christian people. The report now is that, these poor creatures were taken out of the building, put to death by means of spears, knives and swords, their eyes and hearts taken out, and their bodies thrown

into

into the flames of the burning buildings. The fury of the mob seems to have been directed towards the teachers of the catholic religion, in which the Chinese appear to have included all frenchmen. This opinion must have originated in the fact that all Roman Catholic Mission in China are under the care and special protection of the French Minister at Peking, and the French Consuls at the several open ports. In addition, all, or nearly all, french subjects residing in China are

are Catholics in faith, and worship at the various Catholic Churches scattered through the Empire. It is supposed that the killing of the three Russians was done by mistake — the mob supposing them to be Frenchmen. The truth of this theory appears to be established by the fact that there were a few English, Germans & Swiss, living in the city, not far from the scene of the riots, who were not harmed or molested; and by the additional fact that the Protestant Chapels in the City were

Rich

not injured beyond the
carrying off of the moveable
furniture, books &c

I hope, and am inclined
to believe, that the fury of
the Mob is spent, and that
all real danger to the foreign
residents on the "Concession"
is over; although the history
of mobs the world over
goes to prove this fact: that
the motive which incites
riots, or during their progress,
is often lost sight of, and
their subsequent acts are
controlled by persons who
join them for purposes
of robbery and plunder

alone

alone. It is only in this view of the case that there is danger in the future; and I shall not fail care of quiet and order until a gun-boat arrives at Tientsin. The British gun-boat "Opossum" is said to be at Chefoo. If so, she will be likely to make her appearance at Tientsin in two or three days, at furthest.

I have no idea where any of the United States fleet are, but it is fair to presume they are all on the coast of Japan, where the climate is more agreeable than on the

the Chinese coast, in Summer.

And in this connection I may say, that it is to be hoped that the fleet under the command of Admiral Rodgers, will attach more credit upon the Nation than it has hitherto under Admiral Rowan. Unless the testimony of our Countrymen here be untrue, our fleet in these waters, for the last three years has been of little practical value. American interests have been compelled to rely on foreign nations for all the protection they have received. It is undoubtedly true that many of the Vessels

Composing

composing the flock have
proved miserable; at the
same time the conviction is
forced upon me, that there has
been a great lack of executive
talent, in putting to the best
use the means at command.

When the news of the
massacre - for it can be
called by no other name -
reached Peking, a meeting was called
of all the representatives of the
Treaty Powers residing there
to consult upon the measures
necessary to adopt for the
mutual protection of our
countrymen. Although
the informations we had
received

received was meagre & disjointed, and much of it evidently unreliable, it was thought best, without waiting for details, to address a joint note to the Government here, as being the best step to awaken the chief officials to a due sense of their responsibility, and induce them to adopt measures promptly, to restore order and quiet; for prompt action on their part seemed necessary, not only for the safety of foreign residents in Tientsin but in Peking also. A copy

of

of this note accompanies this.
It is but just to say that
the Government here shows
every disposition to do all
in its power, but it is weak
and effeminate, and requires
the constant advice and aid
of the foreign representatives
to point out the proper steps
to take. I enclose copy of
a note, from Prince Kung
received on the 25th inst;
stating what had been done
towards quieting things at
Tientsin. See additions
to this all the available
troops in this vicinity have
been brought into the City
and

and posted in the neighborhood
of the Catholic Establishments
for their protection. I also
send herewith translation of all
the decrees that have appeared
up to this date.

In the foregoing I have
endeavored to give you the substance
of the best information that has
reached me up to this date
Until farther intelligence is received
I forbear criticising the causes
which led to this terrible affair,
or speculating upon the probable
or possible effects of it, upon
the future intercourse of China
with the Western nations

Enough however is known to

Establish

establish, clearly three facts:

1st That the action of the Sisters of Charity, or of those who controlled their institutions, in the purchase of children, was the cause of the rumors which incited the mob;

2e That the action of the mob was not directed against foreigners, because they were foreigners. It appears, on the contrary, to have been a religious crusade against Catholics; not particularly for the reason that Catholics were teaching the Christian religion, but because of their action in filling the asylums with children against the wishes of the Chinese,

and

and in a manner calculated to arouse prejudices and engender hatred. All french subjects were included in the category of those who committed these crimes, because the French Government appeared to be the guardian and protector of the Catholic Missions.

3ᶜ. That the action of the French Consul was unwise, in not giving his consent for the use of any reasonable means to disabuse the minds of the people, and allay the excitement; and also in firing his pistol into the crowd of people which precipitated

precipitated a bloody collision between natives and foreigners, thereby sacrificing his own life, and the lives of others who had placed themselves under his protection.

I think I hazard nothing in saying that the representatives of Great Britain, Russia and North Germany, agree with me in these opinions.

In thus expressing my opinions as to the causes of the riots I do not desire to be understood as excusing or palliating this terrible crime, or the action of the officials; who by their inertness, if not

by

by direct complicity in the
plot, failed to take any
resolute action to quell the
disturbance, and protect the
lives and property of those who
were residing upon Chinese
soil in pursuance of treaty
rights, and engaged in lawful
undertakings in accordance
with the strict letter of treaty
stipulations.

I have the honor to be
Sir,
Your obedient servant
Fredrick F. Low

List of Enclosures Despatch No 12

A Despatch signed by all the Representatives of Treaty Powers residing in Pekin - June 24/70 to Bruce Kung

B Bruce Kung to Frederick F Lord, giving details of action taken

C Translation of Imperial Decree

D Letter from Jno A T Meadows to Frederick F Lord June 22 1870

E Letter from Jno A T Meadows to Frederick F Lord June 24. 1870

Dispatch 12
Inclosure a

Peking, June 24. 1870

To His Imperial Highness Prince Kung.

&c &c

Sir,

It is with the deepest grief and indignation that the Undersigned, who represent the Foreign Governments accredited to China, have learned the news of the atrocious crime which has been committed at Tientsin, as it were at one of the gates of the capital of the Empire. The consul of France, the missionaries and sisters of charity, and other Frenchmen residing at Tientsin, have been massacred and their establishments burned. From the particulars which have yet reached Peking,

not

not very exact it is true, there is reason to fear that the fanatical populace will not refrain from further excesses towards the foreign residents at Tientsin.

The Undersigned do not doubt that the Government of His Majesty, the Emperor of China, in its wisdom, sympathises in the general indignation felt in consequence of these atrocities, and is fully sensible of the grave responsibility which rests upon it, as well as its duty to take the necessary measures to prevent the repetition of such acts; which, wherever they may occur, cannot fail to seriously compromise the position of the Imperial Government in the eyes of all the world.

The

The occurrences at Tientsin prove, in fact, that foreigners are not everywhere sufficiently protected by the Chinese local authorities. It is therefore for the interest of the Imperial Government itself, to demonstrate by the clearest acts, its firm intention to assure the safety of all foreigners who have trusted themselves to its fidelity, wherever they may be within the confines of the Empire. If such a catastrophe as this could happen only eighty miles from the capital, the Undersigned cannot but fear that, unless the guilty persons are promptly punished, new attempts will be made at places farther from the capital,

where

where the authority of the central power has less efficiency. It is indispensible, that as other countries hear the tidings of this crime, they should at the same time be informed that justice is being done; and thus each of them will be reassured as to the condition of its citizens who have trusted themselves to the protection of China.

The Undersigned gladly avail themselves of this occasion to renew to His Imperial Highness the assurance of their respectful consideration.

(Signed) Rehfues (N. G. Confd.)

" Frederick F Low (U S A)

" Aug. t'Kint von Rudenbeck (Belgium)

" Adolphe Patzot (Spain)

" Rochechouart (France)

" Eug. Butzow (Russia)

" T. F. Wade (G. Britain)

Dispatch 12
Enclosure B

Tungchi, 9th year 5th moon 27th day

June 25. 1870

Prince Kung, chief Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, herewith has the honor to state in respect to the riot which has occurred at Tientsin, that he has already been honored with a Decree from the Throne, ordering Tsäng Kwohfan, (Governor-general of this province) to go there and attend to its suppression.

The Foreign Office has also sent a letter to Tsunghow at Tientsin, - ordering him to take measures to arrest the lawless men who had stirred up this émeute, and execute upon them the - severest penalties of the laws, in order to vindicate the justice of government, and restrain all further outbreak. He

was

was also directed to take the utmost
precaution in protecting the foreign
consulates and residences, so that
no further molestation need be
apprehended.

A dispatch has also been
received from him, in which he states,
that at an early hour on the 22d. inst.
he went to the office of the Commis-
sioner of Customs, where he met all
the foreign consuls, and assured them
that there was no cause for further
alarm. He had also sent officers to
the foreign hongs at the city, who
had ascertained that no damage
had been done to them, and had
taken letters from them down to the
foreign Settlement at Tsz'chuh-lin,

in

in order to relieve the anxiety of the friends of those living there. He had further detailed officers to go to various points to repress any disturbance and afford all possible protection, which had still further quieted the apprehensions of all classes, as he was assured by the replies already received from the consuls.

Having received these particulars, I have the honor to make them known for your Excellency's information

To His Excy F. F. Low
U. S. Minister

Dispatch 12
Inclosure C

An Imperial Decree.

(From Peking Gazette of June 26th.)

Tsunghow has memorialized the respecting a riot among the people at Tien. tsin and fighting with the religionists, - requesting that his guilt [in the affair] may be investigated, and the local officers be severally examined with severity in reference to their degradation. It seems that some children were kidnapped, and some reckless villains implicated the - Roman Catholic establishments in the practice, which led the people of Tien. tsin to suspect evil and excite strife; and further, M. Fontanier, the French consul, fired his pistol when at the office of Tsunghow, and at the district magistrate

of

of Tientsin, which had irritated the crowd to such a degree that they killed M. Fontanier and burned the Roman Catholic establishments.

Tsunghow is in charge of commercial affairs, and he therefore is not the one to keep the place quiet; but Chow, the Intendant, is responsible for taking the lead, and yet adopted no precautionary measures in the matter, nor did the prefect Chang, or the district magistrate Lin at Tientsin, either of them act right at all in reference to it, whereby this very serious matter has attained such a pass. Their delinquencies admit of no palliation.

Let Tsunghow and all the other officers

officers be handed over to the Board that their proper punishment may be decided. Let Tsăng Kwoh-fan, as soon as he reaches Tientsin, investigate the whole thing most thoroughly, and report in a memorial. Let those lawless people who have kid-napped children, and the leaders in this riot, be all seized and dealt with severely according to law. And lastly, let him and Tsungshou jointly search into the causes of this whole affair to the very bottom, and manage it equitably -- without the least partiality. Respect this.

Dispatch 12

Enclosure 2

United States Consulate

Tientsin June 22–1:A M

The Honble Fred^k F Low

United States Minister, Peking

Sir:–

I have the honor to make the following report to your Excellency on events which have taken place at this place, for your information:–

For some days past great excitement has existed in Tientsin amongst all classes of the Chinese inhabitants against the foreign (french) and chinese Roman Catholics in consequence, it is said of the priests and Sisters of Charity, through their employes having Kidnapped numbers of Chinese children for some months back, and when any of them died, caused their eyes and hearts to be extracted for

Medicinal

medicinal purposes. An intense hatred has been latterly created through these reports, on the part of the people against the french Roman Catholics, and I felt certain there would be an outbreak on the part of the people, if the french residents did not take measures to do away with the impression existing amongst the people. Today M Fontanier and the assistant of the Consulate proceeded armed to the Yamun of His Excellency, Chunghow, and on their way back to the Consulate, accompanied by Chunghow and when they met the District Magistrate, who stopped Chunghow to speak to him, M Fontanier fired on Chunghow and the Magistrate threw shots from his revolver, besides striking Chunghow slightly

~~with~~ slightly with the butt of his pistol on the head. The chinese people who surrounded them, rushed on M Fontanier and the assistant & and killed them The excitement now became intense amongst the people, who in a large body proceeded (Tien chu tang) to the Tien-chu-tang killed the 3 priests there, 2 french people en route for Peking and all the Roman Catholic Chinese; after which they burned down the building The crowd now became greater and the authorities could not control it The people proceeded to (Jin-tsz-tang) now the Jin tsz tang, where the Sisters of Charity resided, killed 5 sisters and all the chinese Roman Catholics in the building. Three (3) more Roman catholics met in the streets were also killed

killed about this time. This building was also burned down. The whole of the Mandarins of the City had now reached the spot and persuaded the people to disperse. These latter found the bones of children in the Joss tang which roused their fury exceedingly. No injury has been done to the persons or property of the people of other nationalities. The ladies of the American and British protestant Missions went to the British Consulate to stay this night with Mrs Lay the wife of the British Consul.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant
(Sgd) John A T Meadows
HBM Consul

Dispatch 12
Enclosure E

United States Consulate

Tientsin 24th June 1870

Hon. Frederick F. Low

United States Minister, Peking

Sir

At 2 a.m. on the 22 inst. I had the honor to address your Excellency regarding serious matters which had occurred ~~here~~ during the 21st instant. My despatch I handed to Mr Arendt Vice Consul of the North German Confederation who was sending a despatch by special courier to Peking at that time. This morning I was astonished to receive back my despatch from Mr Arendt. It appears from Mr Arendt's note that the messenger had been unable to proceed on to Peking. As I am desirous of at once sending you all information

up

up to this moment. I once again address you My first despatch which I enclose, will convey to you the first accounts we received of the terrible events of the day previous I am now able to correct some of my reports, having since received more correct information. After the Tientsin people ~~—~~ killed ~~it~~ — it appears there were nine (9) Sisters of Charity, and a number of Chinese There were over 30 female children found in the place, who were sent to the Mandarins. (Tien-chuen-tang) At the Tien-chow-tang there was one foreigner (French) killed and one Native priest; also Mr Tomasseen and wife of the French Legation who arrived per Manchu from

from Shanghai, - and a number of Chinese servants. At the French Consulate, situated within the Tien-chow-tang premises, there were killed M Fontanier, the Consul, M Simon the Vice Consul and a number of Chinese. M Chalonaiion and his wife, - store keepers, - were killed in their store near the south gate. They were Roman Catholics. Two (2) Russians - Siberians and the wife of one of them were killed as they were coming down in sedans from town at the time the people were burning the Tien-tsz-tang
Jen-tsz-tang, being evidently mistaken for French Roman Catholics; as none of the Swiss, German

German and English people, - all protestants, - were molested although living separately in town. There appears to have been altogether (19) Nineteen foreigners, - French and Russians, - killed on the 21st inst.

The people in the settlement have naturally been in considerable alarm, but the moment I came - at 5 PM on the 21st - that the Chinese people had dispersed, after destroying the Tiendchotang and Jintang - Roman Catholics - without molesting the protestant residents in town. I felt sure we would not be disturbed in the "Settlement", and such has been the case up to this moment.

At 10 a.m. on the 22nd inst.

Chemyhow

Chenghow met all the Consuls
at the residence of the Commissioner
of Customs He detailed how
Count Fontanier had acted like
a mad-man, and that he
attributed the destruction of all
of the people to his firing his
revolver at himself (Chenghow) and
the Magistrate. He expressed great
regret at what had occurred
and owned that owing to the
unexpectedness and suddenness of
the outbreak the people were
masters of the position for that
day Mrs Stanley and family
are living on board the Manchu
where other Missionary ladies
are living, as well as Mrs
Forbes and Mrs Stanmore —
Merchants

— merchants wives. There are
now no foreigners living in town
Chung how saved the life of
one frenchman named Contris,
who was able to reach his
Yamun where he was cared
for till he could be sent down
to the British settlement

I write this despatch in great
haste as I am anxious to
dispatch it without delay I
am very much grieved that my
first letter has been returned

Besides the Manchee we
have the British steamer Appin
in port The Dragon had
left, but some letters would
reach her at Takoo, and we
will early see a gun-boat
here

here There are no vessels
of war here at present

The bodies of the Consul
& his Consul, Thomassen and
wife, the priest Cherrier, and
those of the Russians have
all been got possession of
and the latter buried

I have the honor to be
Sirs
Your obedient & Humble
(Sgd) John A. T. Meadows
U S Vice Consul

Note, to accompany Mr Meadows' letters

Mr Meadows, the U.S. Vice Consul at Tientsin, is in the employ of Chunghow as superintendent of the Arsenal at Tientsin, and as a consequence there is acquaintance and intercourse are intimate — Without imputing to Mr Meadows any desire to misrepresent facts, it is undoubtedly true that his personal friendship towards Chunghow would cause him to believe the statements made by the latter in preference, to hearing his

his opinion on the information which comes through other sources

Mr Meadows statements about what took place at the Yamen of Chungking is substantially disproved by all the testimony we get from other sources

It is but natural that the Chinese officials should try to relieve themselves of the grave responsibility, and they will be likely to do so by every possible means - hence their statements in regard to the occurrences of the 21st should be taken

accepted

accepted with caution, unless supported by other evidence

It would appear to be an improbable story, that the French Consul should attempt to take the lives of Chunghow and the District Magistrate — the men on whom he was obliged to rely for protection, and whose aid it was the object of his visit to obtain

Frederick F Low

DEPARTMENT RECEIVED SEP 21 1870 OF STATE

Mr E P Smith - please examine & state any instruction of the Treaty or Laws the acknowledgment of. Act. according to the inclosed request

Ans 21 Sept

No 13 ----- 4 Enclosures

Frederick F. Low

to

Department of State

Peking July 10 1870

Reports the shipment from Hong Kong to New Orleans of 400 coolies; gives his opinion in regard to the coolie trade; suggests additional legislation by Congress to suppress it, and asks for more specific instructions for his guidance

No 13 11 Enclosures

Legation of the United States
Peking July 10 1870

Sir:-

Soon after my arrival in China, I received what appeared to be reliable information to the effect that certain persons, citizens of the United States, were in or near Canton engaging coolies under contracts for a term of years, for transportation to the Southern States, contrary

to

Hon Hamilton Fish
Secretary of State

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Peking July 10 1870

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to

Hon Hamilton Fish
Secretary of State

to the express stipulations of the treaty between the United States and the Chinese Empire

I accordingly addressed communications to the Consuls of the United States at Canton and Hong Kong, requesting them to enquire into the matter, and, if the facts were as represented, to use all lawful means to prevent such illegal operations (See inclosures A & B)

The Consul at Hong Kong in his reply (Enclosure C) states that he had heard the report alluded to; that about four hundred

hundred (400) Chinese emigrants had recently sailed for New Orleans in French Vessels; that no evidence had been adduced to show that these people were coolies, but that, on the contrary, all purported to be "voluntary emigrants" within the meaning and intent of the laws of the United States. To report upon this subject has, as yet, been received from the Consul at Canton.

From evidence entirely satisfactory to me, I have no doubt as to the real status of these four hundred Emigrants

emigrants. If they were engaged under a Contract like the copy enclosed (enclosure D) there can be no question as to their being "Coolies" in the legal acceptation of that term; and their exportation to the United States is an infraction of treaty stipulations.

But even if the fact can be positively established by evidence, that the traffic is being carried on, how can it be stopped? The laws of the United States are inadequate, and the laws and regulations of China, though very strict, are

are so easily evaded, that their execution cannot be relied on to serve any useful purpose. The Act of 1862 stringently prohibits the transportation of Coolies in American Vessels, but fails to impose penalties upon the authors of the traffic — those who engage and ship these unfortunate people

The cruelty and injustice of the African slave trade was, in the opinion of those who apologized for and defended it, largely counbalanced by the civilization and christianization of the negroes transplanted

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transplanted by this means
and placed under the benign
influence of the white race
in the Southern States
The same work of arguments
are now brought forward
to prove the beneficence and
humanity involved in the
Coolie trade
It is useless, and therefore
I decline to discuss the question,
whether or not Chinese labourers
could be benefitted by
this sort of emigration, if the
contracts could be faithfully
observed by both contracting
parties
The traffic is a temptation
to

to the cupidity of man,
greater in many respects,
than the odious African
Slave trade, and the evils
attending it cannot be
enumerated. It is an
evil unmixed with good;
is reprobated by the moral
sentiments of all civilized
nations; and, so far as
the United States are concerned,
is prohibited by the solemn
engagements of treaty.

It remains for the Legislative
Department of our Government,
to enact laws to carry into
effect the stipulations of the
treaty and thereby keep
our

our plighted faith. The
purpose of this despatch is
to state the facts in relation
to this nefarious trade; to
suggest legislation to supply
the defect in our laws which
are intended to prohibit it,
and to respectfully ask for
more specific instructions
for my guidance in dealing
with this question.

The Chinese Government
has as yet made no formal
complaint, although I feel
quite certain it is has been
furnished with information
about this matter, by the
representatives of a Treaty
Power

Powers residing here

From this fact you will observe that the action of the United States is jealously watched by the other Treaty Powers, as well as by the Government of China

I have the honor to be

Sir,

Your obedient servant

Frederick F. Low

Enclosure A
Dispatch 13

Legation of the United States,
Peking May 26 1870

Sir—

I am informed that one Frank Williams, a citizen of the United States, as agent for John Williams, who is also an American Citizen, is now in or near Canton engaged in contracting for Coolie emigrants; and is at this time loading a ship with Coolies at Hong Kong, destined for New Orleans in the United States, Contrary to the act of Congress approved February 19th 1862— Although the chief witness of the act referred to is

To B P Cheneworth Esq
U S Consul
Canton

to prevent the transportation
of such persons in Vessels
belonging to Citizens of the
United States, still the scope
of the said Act is believed to
prohibit the engaging & hiring
of Coolies for a term of years
for the purpose of transporting
them to the United States

I have to request that you
will cause such enquiry &
investigation to be made into
the matter herein indicated as
to satisfy yourself in regard to
it, and if my information be
true, to take such steps as may
be lawful and proper to cause
not only the laws of the United

States

States to be observed, but also that the rules and regulations now in force by virtue of our treaties with China, in regard to voluntary emigration of Chinese subjects to the United States, may be strictly enforced.

I am, Sir

Your obedient Servant

Frederick F. Low

Enclosure B
Despatch 13

Legation of the United States

Peking May 26 1870

Sir:-

I have information to the effect that one Frank Williams, as agent for John Williams, both citizens of the United States, is now in Canton engaged in making contracts for the hire of Coolies; and that he is loading a ship at Hong Kong with three coolies, destined for New Orleans in the United States It is also understood that Messrs Carlowitz & Co of Canton are, for them I am not officially informed whether the vessel they To Col Goulding are W S Consul

Hong Kong

are loading is an American bottom or not.

I have this day written to the U S Consul at Canton calling his attention to this matter, and instructing him to take steps to ascertain the truth or falsity of the report; and that if true, to take such steps as may be legal and proper to cause the laws of the United States prohibiting the Coolie trade to be observed; and also to see that the rules and regulations in regard to voluntary emigration of Chinese subjects to the United States are strictly enforced.

I have now to call your attention

attention to the same subject, with the request that you will take all necessary steps to pursue any infraction of our treaties with China, and same the laws of the United States touching this nefarious traffic to be obeyed

I would thank you for any information you may be able to obtain in relation to the subject Matter of this note

I am, Colonel

Your obedient Servant

Frederick F. Low

Enclosure C
Dispatch 13

United States Consulate

Hong Kong June 16. 1870

His Excellency Hon S. S. Low

United States Minister

Peking, China

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch of May 26th in regard to the Coolie Emigration, and beg leave to say in reply that there was a man here by the name of Williams from New Orleans, also a gentleman by the name of Gift from Memphis, both trying to obtain Coolies for the Southern States of the United States; and they did succeed in obtaining about four hundred or more; but they were all

subjected

subjected to a very severe examination and I am satisfied that all were free, and "voluntary emigrants" within the meaning of the Law. Again the authorities here would not have allowed them to leave under a contract: — the Colonial authorities here being very strict and watchful, as it is possible for them to be

I may add that I have written to Washington for explicit and full instructions, and in the mean time shall do all in my power aided by the Authorities here to carry out or afford emigration in strict accordance with Law.

I also enclose herewith the certificate given to every Captain,

without

(without regard to nationality of the ships) as required by said

The ships engaged by Messrs Williams and Gift are French ships I have the honor to be

Sir,

Your respectfully

Your obedient Servant,

(Sgd) C. A. Goulding

U S Consul

Enclosure D
Despatch 16

Copy Translation

Contract for the [Emigrant] laborer engaged to [go to] the United States

The parties to this contract are Tsoling Wei-lin-yao [Frank Williams] agent for Chen Wei-lin-yao [John Williams] employer, a citizen of the United States, and the Chinese subject engaged by him, named _____ as a laborer, who agrees to go to Louisiana in the United States as a laborer in the employ of John Williams or his assigns

The articles of agreement are as follows:—

1st. A. B. laborer, agree to go to the locality above mentioned for

for the purpose of performing agricultural and such other labor as his employer may designate, for the space of three years ~~and~~ now agreed, the said term to count from the day of his arrival; — Wages are to be issued at the rate of thirteen dollars in currency of the United States, of which sum five dollars are receivable in Hong Kong as an allotment to the laborers family, and five dollars to be paid to himself The remaining three dollars per month to be paid in a lump sum at the expiration of the period of three years

2d A comfortable dwelling is to be provided, and food issued as follows, viz 50 lbs rice and 10

lbs

lbs of Pork per month, or the equivalent of the same in Money, Clothing for the voyage and the cost of passage to be provided by the employer

3d In the event of sickness Medical treatment and Medicine to be provided by the employer If incapacitated from labor by sickness, wages not to be paid

4th The Laborer shall rise daily with the sun, and shall be allowed one hour for breakfast and the same length of time for his midday meal, except during the Summer months when two hours each shall be allowed in the middle of the day For night work in tending the Sugar Mills

Mills extra wages shall be paid
at the rate of 50 cents per night
No labor shall be performed
on Sundays, except in case of
emergency, fire, flood Etc, and
the tending of cattle also excepted
5th Besides yielding due obedience
to his employers orders, the
laborer shall further respect
all prevailing ordinances, and
shall exert himself with proper
diligence in the performance of
his tasks
6th During the space of three
years [to be] fulfilled [under this
Contract] the total number of
days per annum on which
labor is to be performed will
be but 312, and ten days
holiday

holiday will be given in addition

On the expiry of the three years, the employer or his assigns will be bound to return the laborer to China, all expenses of passage being paid by the employer, or otherwise the sum of $150 shall be paid in commutation of the same

7th The laborer now engaged authorizes John Williams at any time during the period of three years to assign this contract to persons engaged in the same business In testimony whereof the foregoing agreement is signed in duplicate in English and Chinese Each party retaining one copy

Signed

Signed at ——

Witness ——

Dated — 1870

——

EW
WB

ack

No 14

Mr Pratt

approve

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
RECEIVED
SEP
21
1870

Frederick F. Low

to

Department of State

Peking July 15. 1870

Informs the Department that he has appointed Daniel Wroman Acting Consul at Canton, vice Col Bernard P Cheeswith deceased

No 14

Legation of the United States
Peking July 15. 1870

Sir:-

I have the honor to inform you that I have appointed Daniel Vrooman Esq Acting Consul for the United States at Canton, until the pleasure of the President can be made known, vice Col Bernard P Cheeseborough deceased; said appointment to date from July 1. 1870

I have the honor to be
Sir,
Your obedient servant
Frederick F. Low

Hon Hamilton Fish
Secretary of State

Cite

No 15.

Acknowledges
Sept 21 Desp. 20 Oct

DEPARTMENT OF STATE RECEIVED SEP 21 1870

FOREIGN Relations '70

W Pratt

Frederick F. Low

to

Department of State

Peking July 16 1870

Acknowledges receipt of despatch No 9 from the Department, and gives some information about the relations existing between China and Corea

No 15

FOREIGN Relations '70

Legation of the United States
Peking July 16 1870

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your No 9 with enclosures, instructing me to proceed, at such time as it may be convenient to the Admiral commanding the Asiatic Squadron, to Corea, for the purpose of negociating a treaty for the protection of shipwrecked mariners,

Hon Hamilton Fish
Secretary of State

and

and if practicable to secure commercial advantages also.

Since my arrival in China I have endeavored to obtain all the information possible about Corea, but I regret to say that my efforts have met with little success.

The Chinese Government will, I doubt not, lend its good offices in aid of our efforts in that direction, but it is questionable whether they will prove of much practical utility.

Corea is substantially an independent nation. To be

be sure it sends tribute to China annually, but from the best information I am able to obtain, the tribute is sent rather as a quid pro quo for the privilege of trading with the Chinese, than as a Governmental Tribute. It is brought annually by land, and is accompanied by a large train of camels laden with Corean products, — paper ginseng &c — for private trade and traffic. These trading expeditions are allowed to remain in Peking three months in each year

Beyond these arrangements,

which

which have been in existence
many years, there seems
to be no connection between
China and Corea. China
claims or exercises no
control in any way over Corea,
nor do the Coreans regard
the Chinese as having any
right to interfere or exercise
any control over their
governmental polity

The object aimed at
in connection with the
proposed expedition is well
worth the effort, and I
shall use all available
means to make the negociation
a success; although candor
compels

compels me to say I am
not sanguine I shall
be glad to avail myself of
Mr Sewards experience and
assistance in this matter:-
hence no preparation will
be made for the expedition
until next year, when he will
be able to accompany me
In the meantime the
Departments will be kept
fully acquainted with all
the information I am able
to obtain

I have the honor to be
Sir,
Your obedient Servant
Frederick F. Low

Cust
1118

DEPARTMENT RECEIVED SEP 21 1870 OF STATE

Arrest the weapon for treason
so as to 20 ct

No 16

Confidential

W Pratt

Frederick F. Low

to

Department of State

Peking July 17. 1870

Gives his opinion in regard to the question of obtaining an audience with the Emperor of China. Reports the probable plans of France upon the same subject, and asks for views of the Department

No 16 Confidential

Legation of the United States
Peking July 17. 1870

Sir:

The French Government has for some time past pressed the "audience" question upon the attention of the Chinese Government. It is asserted that when the late Mr Burlingame was in France the attempt was made to exact a pledge from him, that the Emperor of China should receive the Ministers of France provided an audience be granted Hon Hamilton Fish Secretary of State

granted to him by the French
Emperor. Mr Burlingame,
not feeling himself authorized
to make such a pledge,
declined, but promised to
use his influence to bring
about the result so much
desired. Since then the
French Minister in Peking
has made a formal demand
to be presented to the Emperor,
in return for the audience
granted by the Emperor of
France to the Chinese Embassy.
The Chinese Ministers for
Foreign Affairs, in declining
to forward the request of the
French Minister remarked, that,

the

the Emperor is not at the present time approached by any persons other than his attendants and tutors, nor does he in fact have anything to do with governmental affairs; that although all petitions are addressed to, and all decrees are issued in the name of, the Emperor, still the facts are that all the questions are decided and the orders and decrees issued by the Empress Regent without consultation with the Emperor.

It is not definitely known when he will assume the duties of Emperor de facto

No

No law on the subject exists, and the decision will be settled by precedent and policy. Precedent indicates that he will be declared of legal age next year: one Emperor during the reign of the present dynasty having ascended the throne at the age of sixteen* This is the only foundation for the current report and general belief that he will assume active duty in 1871 This precedent however, is not considered of absolutely binding force, and policy may dictate the continuance of the Regency

Regency for a time longer

They evidently anticipate positive demands on the part of the foreign representatives for an audience as soon as the Emperor ascends the Throne, which may induce them to let matters remain as at present in order to evade or postpone the decision of this and some other perplexing questions Chinese policy appears to be; "never do today what can be deferred until tomorrow"

A few days since the French Chargé d' Affaires here intimated to me that the

the French Government would probably send out an Ambassador of the first rank to arrange for a settlement of the Tientsin affairs: in which case, he said, a demand would be made for an audience with the Emperor prior to entering upon any negociations and, failing in obtaining this, their Legation would be withdrawn from Peking. He also said that, in case his Government came to such a conclusion, it would have the coöperation and support of most, if not all, of the European Treaty Powers,

and

and asked me what course the United States would take in such a contingency.

I replied that I could not give him any definite answer, that by a sort of common consent the audience question was considered in abeyance during the minority of the Emperor; that such a contingency as he had indicated had not been anticipated by my Government, and as a consequence my instructions were not explicit on this point. I informed him that before deciding to take

so important a step — which might result in hostilities — it was altogether probable his Government would consult the other Treaty Powers; in which case explicit instructions would be sent me for my guidance

If one can judge of the future by the past, the plan marked out by Count Rochechouart, will be likely to meet the approval of the French Government; and will I think, receive the aid and support of most of the European Treaty Powers, if proposed by France

Of

Of the advisability and desirability of placing foreign nations on an equality with China in their diplomatic intercourse, there can be no question. This cannot be so long as the Emperor is allowed to maintain his ancient and historical seclusion. It is in every respect desirable that this exclusive policy shall be broken up and abandoned. The decision of this question cannot be delayed but a few years, and it may perhaps be considered a fortunate circumstance for other nations

nations of France takes
advantage of the present
difficulties to insist upon
the settlement of this
question now. Whenever
the time comes for settling
this question, the dignity of
the United States and the
interests of her citizens will
be better maintained and promoted
by firmly insisting upon the
same treatment by China as
is freely conceded by the United
States to the representatives of
all nations having diplomatic
relations with her. If the
time for the settlement is
hastened by the present
difficulty

difficulty with France, and the demand is made as indicated, it would, I think, be the part of wisdom if the United States joined in the movement, in a judicious manner. In doing this I would not recommend the use of force, or the sacrifice of essentials for mere matters of form.

If a united front is shown by foreign nations, I have little doubt the points will be conceded without unnecessary delay.

I respectfully ask for the views of the Department upon

upon this question, for
my guidance, in case
the contingency should
arise suddenly

I have the honor to be
Sir,
Your obedient servant
Frederick F. Low

* Note -- The Emperor was born April
15th 1856, and by Chinese mode
of computing age is now 15
although only 14 actually

Encl.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
RECEIVED
SEP 21
1870

Mr Low's dispatches of Sept 2 to Sept 20 Oct
Ans'd

No 17

Mr Hall

Frederick F Low

to

Department of State

Peking July 18. 1870

Gives an account of the action of the Capt and agents of Steamer Manchus during the riot at Tientsin, and suggests the propriety of making an acknowledgement to Miss Rusell &c for despatching a steamer to the relief of the Legations at Peking

No 17

Legation of the United States
Peking July 18. 1870

Sir:-

When the riot occurred at Tientsin, the American Steamer "Manchu" belonging to the Shanghai Steam Navigation Company, of which Messrs Russell & Co are the agents and managers, was in that port. In the absence of any vessel of war this steamer was armed in the best manner possible Hon Hamilton Fish under Secretary of State

under the circumstances,
and its use generously
tendered to the foreign
residents as a place of
refuge Nearly all the
foreign ladies and many of
the men made their home
on this Steamer during that
period of alarm and danger
When the news of the riot
reached Shanghai Messrs
Rapell & Co despatched
another Steamer — the "Shantung"
— to Tientsin with instructions
to place her at my disposal
in case it became necessary
for me to leave Peking
Fortunately, I was not
compelled

compelled to avail myself
of their humane and
generous offer

The British Consul at
Tientsin, through H. M.'s
Chargé d'Affaires here, has,
on behalf of the British
residents, written me a note
expressing gratitude to Capt.
Steele of the "Manchuria", and
to Mr Bube, the agent of
Messrs Russell & Co at Tientsin,
for the generous aid rendered in
the hour of danger Mr
Wade informs me that he
shall bring the noble acts
of these men to the attention
of H. M.'s Government in London

I am

In this connection
I desire, most respectfully
to call your attention to the
action of Messrs Rapsell & Co
of Shanghai in sending to
my relief a steamer, when
it was believed the foreign
Legations in Peking were
in danger, that you may,
if considered appropriate,
convey to them on behalf
of the Government a suitable
acknowledgement of their
prompt and humane
efforts to afford succor
to this Legation at a
time when it was believed
great danger existed,

and

aid to them no relief could
be afforded by our navy.

I have the honor to be
Sir,
Your obedient servant
Frederick T. Low

Cust
No 18 Rec'd Sep 29 1870
acknowledged
Approved
Com'r's No 20
Sep 30

FOREIGN Relations '70

No 18 8 Enclosures

W. Hall

Frederick F. Low

to

Department of State

Peking July 27. 1870

Gives farther information concerning the outbreak at Tientsin on the 21st June, and transmits sundry documents relating to the same subject

No 18 8 Enclosures

Legation of the United States
Peking July 27. 1870

Sir:-

Referring to my No 12
of 27th ultimo concerning the
late riots at Tientsin, I have
now the honor to lay before
you sundry documents in
further explanation of that
painful affair. Since the
riot occurred I have tried to
gather all the information
possible in regard to it; its
causes and details; to
ascertain where the responsibility
Hon Hamilton Fish rests
Secretary of State

rests for this massacre, and the measures being taken to punish the guilty and afford redress for the outrages committed

The opinions expressed in my No 12 as to the causes of the riot, are in some degree modified, but they are in no essential particular changed

It is denied by the highest authorities of the Roman Catholic Church, or by those who speak for them, that they held out inducements of a certain sum per head for the children placed in their charge; and, while this may be, and undoubtedly is, true

I

I feel entirely certain that the people who brought children to the Sisters Establishment were rewarded pecuniarily Among the confirmatory evidence that natives were employed for this purpose, I beg to refer you to a letter from the French Consul at Tintain to Comte Rochechouart, written on the morning of the day the riot occured (Enclosure A)

In this M Fontanier says that, in answer to the Complaints of Kidnapping made to him by the officials, "I promised, on "his repeated demand to see to "it that our Sisters of Charity, should

"should employ only persons
"of kind character". This
letter also confirms the statement
that an examination of the
Sisters' Establishment was refused
by him, when permission was
asked by the local magistrate
Taking the letter as a whole
it is apparent that the trouble
did not seem grave, and
therefore he did not consider
it necessary to adopt any
preventive measures. Indeed
it is clear that the Consul
did not regard the discontent
of the people of sufficient
sufficient to justify him in
bringing it to the notice of
his

his superior in Peking —
— this being the first and only
mention he ever made of it —
while nearly all the Consuls
of other nations had been
writing about the threatening
aspect of affairs for two or
three weeks prior to the riot.

The exact facts in regard
to the killing of the Consul
and the other people, and the
destruction of the buildings
are involved somewhat in
doubt. The testimony in
regard to these particulars,
is conflicting and contradictory,
and probably the precise truth
never will be known. I

do

see no reason to alter or
modify the opinions already
expressed. Most, if not
all, of the bodies of the foreigners
killed have been recovered.
Many of them were horribly
mutilated, indicating that
the fury and fiendishness of
a mob composed of Chinese,
may be equalled, but cannot
be excelled, by the wild savages
of the American continent.
The complicity of the local
officials in this affair seems
more certain, the more it is
investigated. When they
saw the storm gathering they
failed to take any effective
steps

steps to prevent it, and the opinion is general in Dinkum that the men receive direct aid and countenance from the local officers and soldiers

The belief is general among all classes that children are kidnapped and sold by the natives for base purposes, and that there is too there seems to be no doubt. The practice is reprobated by all classes, and the guilty persons are punished without mercy when detected. When such a practice exists among the natives, it is not strange that foreigners should be liable to suspicion also

The

The secrecy with which all matters connected with the Sisters Establishments are conducted, renders them peculiarly liable to suspicion in the eyes of ignorant people. To this may be added the natural repugnance and hatred of the literati and gentry, who are ever ready to take advantage of any rumor to arouse the prejudices of the common people against foreigners, and impress upon them the belief that "barbarians" are capable of acts of atrocity too absurd for belief, except by the ignorant and superstitious

Am

An excitement of a similar character occurred about the same time at Nanking several hundred miles distant, which seems to be a remarkable coincidence. This could hardly be accounted as accidental, and affords grounds for the belief, which generally prevails among foreigners, that the riot at Tientsin was not a sudden local excitement, but rather a part of a general plot to arouse the prejudices and passions of the people with a view to the total extermination of the foreign residents. I

am

are not prepared to accept this view of the case, and shall not, until evidence can be produced stronger than any that has come yet

The particulars of the Kanking trouble are detailed with great clearness in the report of the Governor General of that Province to the Foreign Office, a translation of which I enclose (enclosure B) It appears from this that the excitement was as great, the same stories were current in regard to the doings of the Catholics, and the

the danger as imminent as at Tientsin; and that violence was prevented by the vigorous action of the local officials coupled with the prudence of the Catholic Missionaries, who permitted a thorough inspection to be made of their Institution This latter, it appears, went far to quiet the apprehensions of the people and prevent a popular outbreak

I inclose several edicts and proclamations, going to show what measures are being taken by the Government to punish the guilty parties

and

and afford redress for the outrages committed

Tsăng-Kwohfan, who is deputed to investigate the whole affair, and is now at Tientsin engaged in that business, is Governor General of that Province, and one of the ablest officers in the Empire His name is familiar to those who read our diplomatic correspondence as being the author of a somewhat celebrated paper — a report to the Foreign Office in 1867, giving his opinions upon the different points of the British treaty which was then up for discussion

discussion and revision. This report, although private and confidential to his own Government, was surreptitiously obtained, in some way, by the foreign legations and translated It appears in Diplomatic Correspondence 1868 Part I pp 519. 520. & 521 He is a man of mature years, great experience in official affairs, and generally regarded as anti-foreign in his views and feelings But, whatever his private feelings towards foreigners may be, and however much he may desire that the Empire should be restored

restored to its ancient exclusiveness, he has seen enough to satisfy himself that this cannot be; and that all attempts to resist by force the peaceful residence of foreigners in China in accordance with treaty stipulations, are acts of folly and madness.

As an officer he will, I am persuaded, duly appreciate the obligations imposed upon him to search out and duly punish the guilty, and, in good faith, try to devise measures to prevent a recurrence of such outrages in the future.

But whatever may be done

done in the way of punishment and indemnity for the past, absolute security in the future cannot be expected, until the minds of the people are divested of their absurd and wicked prejudices concerning foreigners. This can only be accomplished by time, aided by the influence of the governing class. The necessity of this education the high officials are beginning to realize, and the importance of their taking immediate action for this purpose is being constantly urged by the diplomatick representatives residing

residing here

The decree appointing Kunghow (or Chunghow as his name is generally rendered by foreigners) as Imperial Envoy to proceed to France to endeavor to arrange this difficulty, appears to be a step in the right direction. It evinces a disposition to conform their international intercourse to the forms and usages of Western Nations.

As yet all is doubt and uncertainty about the demands for indemnity which France will make. Telegraphic instructions

instructions via Russia are expected by the French Chargé d'Affaires in a few days. He is now in Tientsin, where he has gone to meet his Admiral. A large fleet of foreign vessels of war is now in the vicinity of Tientsin. Six gun-boats — three French and three English — are in the river, a French Corvette lies outside the bar at the mouth of the Peiho, and the flag ships of the English and French squadrons and some other vessels are at Chefoo. In addition to all these, two North German corvettes and

a

a portion of the North Pacific
Russian squadron are
daily expected at Chefoo
I have written to the Admiral
Commanding the U S Asiatic
Squadron informing him of
the importance of having some
force in the North China waters,
but it is doubtful if any
favorable response can be
made until the arrival of
Admiral Rodgers
The present aspect of
affairs certainly looks
troubled; but I hope a
satisfactory settlement may
be brought about without
a resort to hostilities
Speculations

Speculations as to the future answer no useful purpose, as you will undoubtedly learn the progress of events, and possibly the final result, before this can reach you

My action will be controlled in a great measure by events as they occur It will be my first duty to see that citizens of the United States are allowed to participate in all the rights & privileges granted to other nations. Beyond this I shall not consider it my duty to interfere except in a general way

for

for benifits and future security of all

I have the honor to be
Sir,
Your obedient Servant
Frederick F. Low

Copy the enclosure

No. List of Enclosures in Despatch No 18

A Copy of letter from M Fontanier to M le Bon Rochechouart

B Letter from Na-Sim-i Goreuyr-general of Manchuria to Foreign Office

C Letter from Prince Kung to the Representatives of foreign Powers

D Imperial Decree appointing Tsungshow Imperial Envoy & Chinglin Sup.t of Trade

E Letter of Frederick F. Low to Prince Kung approving appt. of Tsungshow

Lettre of Prince Kung transmitting Imperial Decree ordering all the local officers to be examined and punished for not repressing Tientsin Riot

Proclamation of Tsang-Kwoh-fan with reference to Tientsin riots

Report of Tsang-Kwoh-fan, giving the result of his investigations into the details of the Tientsin riot and the causes which led to it

Dispatch N° 18
Inclosure A

(Translation)
Copy of a letter from M.
Fontanier addressed to M. le Bon. Rochechouart

Tientsin, June 21st 1870.

M. le Comte.

Our little city of Tientsin, usually so quiet, has for some days been disturbed by the cries of noisy mobs in the neighborhood of the establishment of the Sisters of Charity and this Consulate. The Sisters are accused of taking out the eyes of children, and some of the boldest have dug up the bodies of those taken from their hospital. Lately the Intendant (taotai) of this circuit wished to show me the deposition of many witnesses, who declared that they had been victims of the persons employed by our missionaries to recruit young children for them. I had no difficulty in proving to him that all these rumors were the result of ill-will; but as he had presented

the

the matter officially. I promised, on his repeated demand, to see to it that our Sisters of Charity should employ only persons of tried character.

Some hours after this meeting, on the 19th, the district magistrate (chihien) came to the Consulate, accompanied by a deputy from Chunghow, with the design of provoking forthwith an official investigation of the houses of the Sisters and Lazarist Missionaries. But as he committed the impropriety of getting into a passion, and even of threatening me with the resentment of the people, apparently determined to exact from me that which his superiors, only a few hours before, had left entirely to my judgment, I took advantage of it to break off the interview by recalling to his notice that it was only with the Superintendant of the Three Northern Ports that I intended to continue this affair; but that I should none the less hold him responsible for the conse-

quences

quences of the troubles he seemed to be so willing to threaten me with, and of which I was persuaded he was the sole instigator.

I requested the deputy from Chunghow to inform His Excellency of the result of my interview with the district magistrate, until I could go myself to complain to him personally of the unbecoming conduct of this official. I had the pleasure yesterday morning to receive a visit from Chunghow. He spoke in strong terms of reprobation of this magistrate, though meanwhile trying to excuse him. I complained to him how little value the local authorities had given to his remarks, when he had tried to contradict the false rumors circulated against our missionaries, the final cause of which must be found in the obligation to let them adopt a course in which he had refused to join, which had attached to him anew the epithet of "the right arm of Europeans."

This

This little incident, which would perhaps have taken a bad turn unless Chunghow had interfered, now seems to me today to be pretty much finished. — He has moreover promised me that in a few days he will issue a short proclamation to quiet the minds of people.

Dispatch N°. 18
Inclosure B

Letter from Ma Sin-i, the Governor-general at Nanking to the Foreign Office.

I have received the dispatch [from the Foreign Office] stating that M. de Rochechouart had announced his intention of starting for Kiangsu and Chekkiang provinces from Tientsin, for the purpose of ascertaining by secret inquiry whether it was true or not that the Roman Catholic establishments have been criminated by persons [charged with kidnapping]; when the startling news was received that there had been a tumult at Tientsin in consequence of these establishments having been criminated by kidnappers, in which the French Consul M. Fontanier had been killed by the mob. I was accordingly directed to issue confidential instructions to the local authorities, that whenever a case of kidnapping occurred which in any way implicated

the

the Roman Catholics, they should investigate the matter to the bottom, and be careful not to give ready credence to idle rumors, lest they might by so doing give rise to disturbance.

About the last of May and the first part of June, cases were constantly reported of children being missing, both within and without the city of Nanking; and those arrested, on being narrowly examined, did make statements that implicated the Roman Catholics, but none of them being supported by any satisfactory proofs, it was not thought expedient to follow up the charges by inquiring of them. But although these cases were disposed of, the people incessantly complained of children being beguiled and carried off, and the excitement increased. One kidnapper was taken almost in the act, and when before the authorities, he stated that a man named Chao Tsh-shing, belonging to the Roman Catholic establishment,

was

was his principal. This increased the difficulty of disarming popular suspicion. As the rumors circulated, they changed their character and became so truculent that people shuddered as they heard them, and the citizens were so exasperated that it was almost impossible to restrain them.

I gave orders accordingly to the Provincial Commissioners and Intendants who direct the Committee of Reorganization,* that, as soon as they had convicted the kidnappers now in custody, to punish the whole by martial law, that the wrath of the people might be appeased. At the same time I put forth a proclamation stating all the particulars, and charging the people not to listen to these

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* Or, Office of Supplementation, a body of magistrates and others which have been supposed to be bringing the affairs of the province into order since its recovery from the Taiping rebels.

these unfounded rumors; and further directed an officer of the Committee charged with foreign business to — inform the resident Roman Catholic priest in writing of the rumors that were in circulation. He replied de. fending himself, and begged that meas. ures might be taken to prevent any trouble.

This took place just after the dragon-boat festival on June 3d; and it was brought to my notice that the population had not abandoned their suspicions. It was also ascertained that vagrant people and lovers of mis. chief were exciting them to such a pitch, that a day had actually been fixed, on which all the able-bodied men in the city were engaged to meet and go together to the Roman Catholic establishment. This project and many others being talked of, I at once sent orders to the heads of the various wards, and subordinate officers among the gentry,

gentiy, explicitly directing them to arrest any person found spreading these stories for mischievous purposes. The prefect and district magistrates, attended by a number of the gentiy and literati, also went at the same time to the Roman Catholic Establishment. The missionary took them all over the roomes, and into every corner of the building; but they found nothing whatever out of the common way, and consequently, as soon as it was proved that there was no evidence there for the stories current, popular suspicion began to subside.

Both in the city and suburbs, however, people still continued in a state of alarm and unrest, which led me to issue fresh proclamations on this head; and secretly to detail soldiers to patrol by day and night all the roads and streets most carefully, with a view to relieve the apprehensions of the people. By these means, after the middle

middle of June men's minds were calmed, and the Roman Catholics and people were as friendly as ever. This is a full account of the measures taken in Nanking during the last month with reference to kidnapping.

I have received nothing in writing from Chekkiang province to show whether anything of this sort has happened there or not; but I have heard that some cases of beguiling and kidnapping did occur in May in the province of Nganhwui. The excitement in Tientsin began in that month, but it is beyond my comprehension how there should have been movements in several provinces north and south, identical in time and purpose.

The space within the walls of Nanking is large and disconnected. Its inhabitants are ordinarily from all parts of the empire, not one half of them being natives of the place.

This

This is examination year too, and great numbers of students and traders will assemble, which makes strict surveillance throughout its quarters difficult. As a precautionary measure, however, I am erecting guardhouses at all the important points in the several wards, and about the market-places, in which the guards can mutually help and observe each other in their watching. The Committee of Reorganization are to see that in every ward registry door-tickets are made for each dwelling-house, and will take precautions that the registry of the people be done so as not to distress them. They will merely enjoin on every tithing, that its inhabitants exercise such mutual vigilance within its limits that bad characters will have no refuge for themselves.

I have also directed an officer from the Committee of Foreign Trade to go to the English and French mis-

sionaries

sionaries here, and civilly urge them to move out of the way while the examinations are going on, so that causes of collisions with the students may be avoided. The Protestant missionaries occupy a rented house and chapel near the Examination Hall, and they have agreed to move away while the examination is held; but the new church of the Roman Catholics in one street over-looks the prefectural college in another, and they declared that they had nowhere to go, but were willing to shut their gate, and keep in doors till it was over. But lest the students should go to the place and get into dispute with the inmates, I have enjoined upon every one of the literary chancellors and those in charge to urge on the students to avoid what-ever will produce disturbance. Thus it is to be hoped that all parties will keep the peace; and I now give this detail of the precautionary measures which I have adopted for your information.

Dispatch N: 18
Inclosure C

Tungchi, 9th year, 5th moon, 28th day.

June 26th 1870

Prince Kung, chief Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, herewith sends a reply.

I yesterday had the honor to receive Your Collective Note of your Excellencies, in which you refer to the murder of the French consul, priests, missionaries, and others at Tientsin; and inquire whether the officers and people of other countries residing at that port can be protected from violence; you also suggest whether the means for assuring the safety of foreigners in other provinces are adequate for the purpose, and advise that firm

measures

measures for this end be speedily taken, so that their persons and property may be secure; and, lastly, urge the condign punishments of those who have been guilty in the riot at Tientsin, &c. &c.

In relation to the circumstances of this riot at Tientsin, and what has been done to repress it and punish the actors, I have already stated to your Excellencies the steps which have been taken. Since then, Tsunghow has received dispatches from the consuls, and such measures have been adopted that there is, apparently, not the least probability of further disturbance.

With regard to the necessity of taking precautionary measures in the other

other provinces, I may state, further, that the most stringent orders have been sent to the several governor-generals and governors to enjoin upon their subordinates to exert the utmost diligence in protecting foreigners of every class residing within their jurisdictions. Should lawless vagabonds stir up strife, and seek occasion against them, such are to be instantly seized and punished with the utmost rigor that the law requires, so that the two, foreigners and natives, may dwell together in enduring peace.

It is for the purpose of making known what has been done in this matter, that I now send this com-

munication

munication for the information of
your Excellencies.

To

Eug. Butzow,

Chargé d'Affairs for Russia.

Adolfo Patxot,

Spanish Minister

Frederick F Low,

United States' Minister

Baron de Rehfues

Minister for the North German Confed.

Aug. t'Kint von Roodenbeck

Belgian Minister

Count Rochechouart

Chargé d'Affairs for France

Thomas F Wade

Chargé d'Affairs for Great Britain

Dispatch. N: 18
Inclosure D

Tungchi. 9th year, 5th moon, 1st day.

June 29th 1870

Prince Kung. chief Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, herewith sends a communication.

I was yesterday honored by receiving the following Imperial Decree:-

"Let Tsunghow, a Vice President "of the Board of War, and Superintendant "of Trade for the Three Northern Ports, be "invested with full powers to go to France as "our Imperial Envoy. Respect this."

On the same day, I also received the following Imperial Decree:-

"Tsunghow having been sent abroad "as Our Envoy, let Chinglin temporarily

"fill

"fill the post of Superintendant of Trade
"for the Three Northern Ports. Respect this."

I have caused these Decrees to be carefully copied, and now send them for your Excellency's information

To His Excellency Frederick F. Low
U. S. Minister to China

Dispatch N: 18
Inclosure N: 1

Legation of the United States,

Peking, June 30. 1870

To His Imperial Highness Prince Kung.

&c &c

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Highness' dispatch of yesterday, containing copies of two Imperial Decrees respecting the appointment of Tsunghow as Imperial Envoy to France, and of Chinglin to fill the post of Superintendant for the Three Northern Ports for the time, &c., &c.

His Excellency Tsunghow has so long been in charge of the trade at Tientsin, that he has become thoroughly conversant with it; and of all the details

connected

connected with the recent riot at that city, the killing of the French consul and what followed, he was an eyewitness. In respect, therefore, to the causes of this excitement and the subsequent attack, he will, in his position of Imperial Envoy to France, be able to fully explain all that took place on that occasion, and remove the apprehensions of the French people as to what may grow out of this very serious affair. The origin and progress of the agitation up to the final outbreak, are all well known to him, so that his appointment at this juncture as a special envoy seems to me to be a wise step.

The high officer Chinglin, who has

has already filled the post of Inten-
dant and Collector at Kiuchwang.
has been well spoken of by the American
consul at that port as well versed in
the details of trade, and an officer who
executes the duties devolving on him
with equity and consideration. His
appointment to temporarily fill the
post of Superintendant of Trade
for the Three Northern Ports is, there-
fore likely to prove satisfactory to
all, and is very agreeable to me.

I have the honor to be.

Sir.

Your Imperial Highness'

Obedient Servant,

Frederick F. Low

Dispatch N: 18
Inclosure F

Tungchi, 9th year, 6th moon, 1st day

June 29th 1870

Prince Kung, chief Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, herewith makes a communication. On the 28th inst., I was honored by receiving the following Imperial Decree:-

"In consequence of wicked men having "kidnapped young children in the prefecture "of Tientsin, and implicated therein the esta- "blishment of the [Roman Catholic] religion- "ists, the people of the city had their suspi- "cions aroused, and raised a riot in which "the French consul was killed by the mob, "the churches burned, and many other persons "lost their lives, together with some Russian "merchants, who were unintentionally killed. "The whole affair and all the acts committed "are much to be deplored.

"We have already ordered
"that Tsunghow, and all the local officers
"who have managed matters so badly
"in this affair, be delivered over to the
"Board [of Civil Office] to decide upon
"their punishment; and also directed
"that Tsäng Kwoh-fan go there and
"inquire what are the real facts of the
"case, and send up a report; and also
"seize the miscreants who carried off human
"beings and the ringleaders of this riot, and
"execute the penalties of the laws upon the
"guilty.

"The provisions of the treaties now in
"force have hitherto proved to be adequate
"for everything connected with the trade
"and intercourse with other countries,
"and under them natives and foreigners
"have

"have now for a long time got along ami-
"cably, our Government regarding them
"both with the same kindness. But in
"discriminating between the good and
"the evil, no one should ask whether
"a man belongs to a sect or not; for
"wherever unscrupulous fellows are
"found sheltering themselves under
"the name of Catholics to act traitor-
"ously and violate the laws, they must
"be arrested immediately and strict exam-
"ination made that just punishment may
"be inflicted. It is impossible to permit
"men to circulate unfounded rumors,
"and recklessly stir up strife and riot.

"It is to be feared that, owing to
"this conflict and ill-will between the
"people and the Catholics at Tientsin,

"the

"The inhabitants of other provinces will have
"their suspicions aroused, and excite strife
"against them; and therefore let all the chief
"provincial authorities give the strictest -
"orders to all their subordinates throughout
"their jurisdictions to publish explicit
"proclamations upon this matter, and take
"proper measures to repress all attempts
"at rising. Wherever merchants and mis-
"sionaries are found, let them have adequate
"protection whenever they require it; and
"by no means let the ignorant people be
"excited to disorder by rumors or other causes.
"Respect this."

I now send your Excellency a carefully prepared copy of this Decree for your information.

His Excellency F. F. Low.

U. S. Minister to China

Dispatch N°: 18
Inclosure A.

[July 10. 1870]

Tsäng, a Cabinet Minister, Governor-General of the Province of Chihli, &c &c, hereby issues the following proclamation.

I have been honored with repeated orders from the Throne in reference to the occurrences of the 21st ult°, directing me to examine into and settle them in the strictest justice without calling on the troops. All classes both official and unofficial, ought therefore to endeavor earnestly to carry out His Majesty's intentions, so that this affair may be settled and the minds of people quieted.

To this end I now issue this proclamation, ordering the inhabitants

of

of this place to quietly attend to their own affairs as usual, and strictly forbidding them to gather in crowds, or wander through the streets and markets in crowds of ten or a hundred, circulating wild rumors designed to alarm and stir up people. You are also forbidden to assemble about the foreign houses and shipping to stir up strife and rancor.

In all my examination into the causes, and inquiry as to who is implicated, in this affair, I shall exercise ~~the utmost~~ strict equity while carrying on the examination; in no case will I show any partiality, but do justly by all. Let every one carefully obey this special proclamation

Dispatch N° 18
Inclosure H

Extract from a dispatch of Tsunghow to the U. S. Vice Consul at Tientsin, dated July 14. 1870, containing copy of a letter to him from Tsäng Kwoh-fan, Governor General of the province

I have received His Majesty's orders to come to Tientsin, and in concert with Your Excellency, to make a Thorough - investigation into the riot here on the 21st of June, and learn the causes for the animosity which led to it. It appears that villainous men have been bewitch. ing and carrying off children, in which they have implicated the Roman Catholic establishments, and assert that these - people extract the eyes and open the hearts of the children to put into cer- tain medicines. Not only have the ignorant and vulgar been carried away by these idle rumors, but even the educated gentry and officials have confirmed them by their assent. These

causes

causes have been operating till suspicion has produced hatred, and angry passions have been stirred up until this serious catastrophe has come to pass. It is imperatively necessary, therefore, to learn the real facts about these things, so that the true may be distinguished from the false, the guileless from the malicious, and everybody enabled to understand the rights of the case

These exciting rumors are not alone prevalent at Tientsin, but were rife in former years in the provinces of Hunan and Kiangsi; and last year extraordinary placards were posted up anonymously in the cities of Yangchau in Kiangsu and Tienmăn in Hupeh, and in those of Kwangping and Ta-ming in this province. Some of the charges brought forward were that the Roman Catholics beguiled and kidnapped children; others said that they took out their eyes and opened their hearts; and lastly, that they deceived women into their

quarters

quarters to defile them. But although the occurrences at these towns were all judicially inquired into and settled, no attempt was ever made to search into their causes, to learn the truth of the statements made in the placards and exciting rumors, and clear up the whole matter.

Since I reached Tientsin, I have most carefully inquired into the charges brought against the Roman Catholics of bewitching and kidnapping children. While the man Wangsan acknowledged in his examination that he had done so, yet he has since denied that he confessed; and his statement does not at all agree with the original testimony of Wu Lanchin respecting their complicity, nor is there the least proof that any one at the mission ever employed him for such a purpose.

Furthermore, the 150 boys and girls brought from the hospital of the Sisters of Charity have all been questioned

one

one after another, and agree in saying that they have been there under institution a long time, and that their relatives brought them to the institution to be reared and taught. Not one of them had been kidnapped, or in any way cajoled to come there.

The stories about their taking out eyes and opening hearts are also mere unfounded rumors, without a shadow of evidence to uphold them. There were many deaths at the Hospital in the months of May and June, and sometimes three or two bodies were put into the same coffin, which gave rise to great suspicions among the people. They remarked too that its doors were constantly kept closed, and everything carried on with such secrecy that no one could tell what was done inside, which of course gave rise to increased suspicion and dread. Rumors arose on every side, spreading these accusations by myriads of tongues,

but

but to get at their truth would have been like trying to clutch the wind or seize a shadow.

When I first got here, the people came around me by hundreds, handing in their petitions about this affair. I have personally examined many of them, and asked for the proof of what they allidge about taking out eyes and hearts, but not one can point to a single case within his knowledge. Nor is there any evidence to show that any family in the city or suburbs of Tientsin has lost young children; for if such a case had come before the courts, it would have furnished a means of thoroughly investigating the matter. On the whole, therefore, my inquiries have convinced me that there is no foundation for the rumors, nor can I ascertain how they have arisen; and it seems advisable for Your Excellency and myself to immediately report these circumstances to the Throne in order

to

to put a stop to these unfounded rumors and suspicions.

As to the charges that [they the Roman Catholic missionaries] kill children and mutilate their bodies for the purpose of concocting medicine out of their organs; it may be replied that even wild savages and fierce barbarians refuse to act thus; how much less then, the English and French, those mighty nations beyond the sea! Can it be supposed that they do such detestable and cruel deeds? It stands to reason that there has been nothing of the kind.

If persons belonging to the Roman Catholic sect commit crimes, rob, or try to kidnap people, and think to screen themselves from punishment by alledging that they are members of it, it will not do to release them, they must suffer the penalty of the law; nor can any criminal be discharged because he is one of the sect. The Roman Catholic faith -

teaches

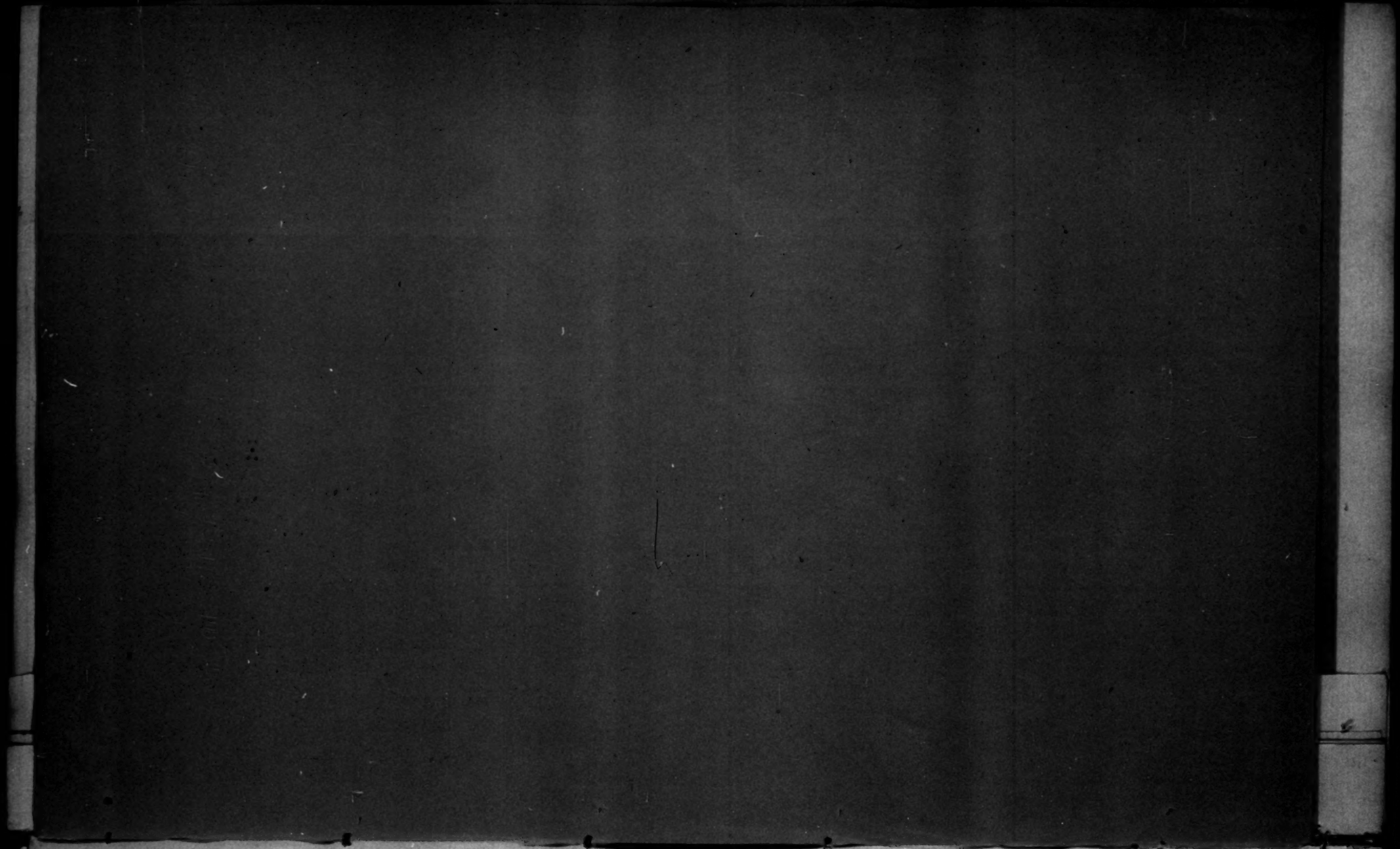
teaches people to do good; and his Sacred Majesty the Emperor Humane (Kanghi) long ago permitted missionaries to exercise and teach their faith. The hospitals of the Sisters of Charity are like our Foundling Hospitals or Old Mens asylums, having for their chief object to relieve the wretched and help the poor, in doing which they lay out large sums annually. Their name itself, jin-ts'e means humane and kind, and should be sufficient to disarm the slander which accuses their managers of such horrid cruelties. It will be hard to appease the wrath of foreigners for this.

It will be proper for us to memorialize the Emperor requesting that orders be sent to all the provincial rulers, advising them that all those irritating, anonymous placards formerly circulated about the Roman Catholics killing and cutting up human beings are all malicious and unfounded assertions; and ordering them to take

measures

measures to redress the wrongs of foreigners, and completely dissipate the misapprehensions of the people. These things should be proclaimed over the empire so that every one shall hear and understand them; and mayhap, the fears and suspicions of all, both natives and foreigners, will be removed, and the mutual ill-will of the people and the Roman Catholics gradually cease and peace be restored.

If you agree with these views, it will be proper to make them known at once to the merchants; and I should like a reply showing that it has been done.



(1) Rec'd Sept 21.

Mr Wade / Mr Pruitt

Private & Confidential

Ans.

Peking July 27. 1870

Hon Hamilton Fish

Dear Sir

In a

private note by last mail I

expressed fears of serious dif-

-ficulties occurring between

China & France unless they could

be averted by prompt and

vigorous affirmative action

of the former. Under the

advice of myself and other

representatives of foreign Powers

an Envoy was

~~They~~ appointed to proceed to

France to endeavor to arrange

the difficulty- This met with
the approval of all the repres-
-entatives of other nations here
except France; and even
he expressed himself as satisfied
It is now evident that the
Chargé of France has thrown
every obstacle in the way,
by objecting to this thing and
that, which has delayed
it until now, with little
prospect of its going at all
if the orders from Tientsin
in regard to the doings of
the French Chargé and the
French Admiral be true.
Rochechouart, the French

Chapé sent to Quintana about
two weeks ago when he met
his Admiral, who has a
considerable fleet there and
in the vicinity - When the
affair occurred at Rochefort appeared
reasonable; saying, that
in an affair of such
gravity he did not feel
like making any de-
-mand for redress without
first consulting his Gov-
=ernment and asking for
specific instructions - He
also asked all his col-
=leagues to take such
joint action as might

appear reasonable and for
the general good. The
result was the joint note
to the Foreign Office, copy
of which I sent you with
my No 12. He consulted
freely with and asked advice of
his colleagues; particularly
with the representatives of
England & Germany who
a two weeks ago, and
appeared to be satisfied
with what was being done
by the Chinese. Just
before his departure for
Pientsin his whole tone
and manner appeared
to change; appearing

to be dissatisfied with all that had been done, and plainly intimating to Mr Wade (English) that on his arrival at Trinidad if affairs did not progress more speedily he should be obliged to formally withdraw from Piking and place the whole thing in the hands of his Admiral for settlement. — Indeed it was thought by those who knew him best that his determination was ~~made~~ fixed, and only waited, from fear of personal violence on the way, to get safely on board a French

gun-boat before making
his determination Known.

From information rec^d
today it appears that he
has made it known to the
Chinese authorities at Tientsin
that, he has investigated
and satisfied himself of the
guilt of the two local
officers — Prefect and
District Magistrate, — and
formally demands that
they be executed without
any great delay; and
in the mean time they
shall be turned over by
his Admiral to be confined

on board a French vessel
for safe keeping. If the
Chinese fail to respond
to this demand, he shall,
after 48 hours delay, fall
it his duty to remove
his Legation and the
French subjects from
Peking and turn the
whole thing over to
the French Admiral for
such action as he may
deem proper to take
The Chinese are anxious
to get the affair to
avoid hostilities; but I
doubt if they can

or will accede to the
demand made upon them.
They have dispatched
one of the Foreign Office
to Tientsin and the others
notify me that they
are coming to call on
me tomorrow. I
suppose their visit has
reference to this affair.
I shall be very careful
not to complicate myself
in this affair; but what-
-ever good offices I can
render in the way of an
honorable & peaceful
settlement, without com-
-promising myself or the

Government of the U S I shall willingly and gladly do it. I very much doubt if anybody can have any influence with the French Chayé. He is ambitious, and unscrupulous, even for a frenchman. His actions are controlled entirely by party prejudice & personal ambition.

In the above remarks I am not only expressing my own impressions of the man, but I am giving you the opinions of the representatives of England

North Germany & Russia,
who have known him
much longer and more
intimately than I have

It would seem that
he has ~~determined~~ determined to make
a demand that must
be refused; on which
to base a pretext for
hostile proceedings

Unless positive orders come
from France to the
contrary I dont see
any escape — a rupture
seems inevitable.

With the whole Catholic
world now in Rome,

their influence on the Emperor of France for retribution will probably be too strong for him to resist, even if he had any disposition to arrive at a peaceful solution of the question

What the finial outcome of this affair will be no one can tell. I have written to Admiral Rodgers asking him to come to the vicinity of Tientsin as soon as he can conveniently, as it is not unlikely

all the foreign Legations will be obliged to leave Peking, in case of open hostilities on the part of France. I shall try to preserve my equanimity and do the best thing possible under any and all circumstances.

Very Respectfully
Your obt servt
F F Low



Acknowledge
Withdraw to make of Congress
Oct 24 Mr Burt
Oct 25 Oct

DEPARTMENT OF STATE RECEIVED OCT 24 1870

No 20

Frederick F Low

to

Department of State

Peking August 5. 1870

Gives the present "situation" of the buildings at present occupied by the Legation at Peking, and suggests the importance of securing these or some other buildings for the permanent occupancy of the Legation

No 20

Legation of the United States

Peking August 5 1870

Sir:-

The necessity of having a permanent abode for the Legation in this City, and the uncertain tenure which we have of the buildings at present occupied, induce me to make an earnest representation to you, and through you to Congress if necessary, of the facts in the case.

The buildings which I now occupy as a residence and office were erected during the absence of Mr Burlingame in the United States in 1866 by Mr Williams, Hon Hamilton Fish then Secretary of State

then as now, the secretary of this
Legation. The absolute necessity of
some accommodations for the
Legation, and the impossibility of renting
premises suitable for the purpose
anywhere in the City, induced him to
direct the interest which the judicious
management of the surplus Indemnity
Fund had earned, for the erection of
the buildings, rather than ask Congress
for a direct appropriation. At this
time the fund was under his exclusive
management and control as Chief
Diplomatic Representative of the
United States in China, and he thought
that a part of it could be made to
earn a better interest in this way than
it was doing, and that this business-
like step — so rare in government
officials -

officials — would be approved.
After setting forth with clearness the necessity that existed for such buildings, and showing that the interest only of the surplus had been touched, Mr Williams voluntarily offered, if the diversion should not be approved, to assume the responsibility by taking the buildings himself and refund the money. (see Diplomatic Cor 1867 Mr Burlingames despatch No 131. and enclosure A in that despatch)

The Secretary of State, while admitting the necessity for a permanent Legation, and approving the motives which actuated Mr Williams, disapproved of his thus diverting the funds, and ordered him to return the money to the Surplus Fund, which order was

promptly

promptly obeyed

Since that time, the houses have been rented to the U S Minister whenever one has been here; and in his absence they have been occupied a portion of the time by the Spanish Legation, or have remained vacant

It is certainly not creditable for the United States to have the flag of another nation alternating with its own upon the same flagstaff. It lessens the dignity of the Government in the eyes of an Oriental people much more than it would with a Western nation, and leads them to believe that our Government is not able to afford a permanent abode for its Representative

Great Britain, France, Russia and North Germany own respectable buildings

buildings and grounds for the accommodation of their respective Legations, much larger and more costly than ours; while the Ministers of Spain, Belgium, and Italy to China are unable to reside in Peking, simply because they have no premises suitable for their accommodation. Each of these Governments, and Austria also, will undoubtedly make provision for their Ministers by the purchase and erection of suitable quarters.

Intimations have been given to Mr Williams that his buildings would be purchased, if for sale; but up to this time no arrangement for that end has been concluded, he believing that the United States would, when they realized the necessity, purchase them

them; - and beside national pride came in to hinder a sale to a foreign Government while he occupied a post under our own

This condition of things cannot last. Mr Williams is a man about sixty years of age. His family has gone to Europe and the United States for the purpose of education and he feels that the retention of so large a portion of his means in these premises in Peking is an injustice to himself and his family, and that unless there is a prospect that they will be purchased by the United States, no blame could attach to him if he disposed of them to the first Government that offered to buy

In this view I fully concur

Yours

If the buildings are sold the
American Legation would of necessity
be obliged to seek some point other
than Peking; — and if Peking be
abandoned, it might with great
propriety be withdrawn from China
There are no buildings to be rented
in this City; and if there were they are
unsuitable for dwellings for foreigners
There is not a wooden floor nor a
chimney in a Chinese house in Peking;
and in a latitude where the thermometer
goes to zero in winter, such dwellings
are scarcely habitable

In view of all these considerations,
I deem it my duty to lay the facts
before you, and recommend that
some arrangements be made for
securing the buildings now occupied,

or

or providing for the erection of others
Mr Williams offers to sell the
property for $35000 in gold payable
in Washington. It has been much
increased since the first purchase
in 1866, and now includes the house
I reside in, a smaller one for a
Secretary, an office and other
buildings ample for the accommodation
of the Legation for years to come.
The location is near the other
Legations, and a portion of the lot
is still covered by native houses,
allowed to remain hitherto, chiefly
to preserve their materials, which
when removed would make it
respectable in size and appearance
ample for republican simplicity, though
modest when compared with grounds
occupied

occupied by the Legations of France Great Britain or Russia

I am aware of the general policy of the United States, not to own property for the occupation of their representatives abroad; but China and Japan are exceptions, and ought not to fall within the rule. They are unlike other countries in all that relates to our diplomatic and Consular systems. By our treaties and consequent legislation we have assumed to set up the Government of the United States inside of China; and there is no more reason to suppose that a Government can be well managed in the open air in China than in North America, —

in

– in the latitude of Peking than
in Philadelphia

These suggestions are not
made from motives of personal
interest, for I imagine that I
shall be able to retain possession
of the house as long as I shall
care to remain in China under
existing circumstances; but they
are the result of my firm convictions
as to what is best for the interests
honor and influence of the
Government and people of the
United States in China

I have the honor to be
Sir,
Your obedient servant
Frederick F. Low

China

To Sec of Treasury
Mr. Pratt
request to return
Oct 24

Ans. 25 Oct

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
RECEIVED
OCT 24
1870

Dispatch No. 21.

Frederick F. Low

to the Department of State.

Peking, August 8. 1870.

Subject.

Value of the tael of silver in various parts of China, and the discrepancy between its weight and purity at the open ports, with observations upon the currency.

No. 21.

Legation of the United States.

Peking, August 8th 1870

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch of April 8th No. 6, and its inclosure relating to the value of the tael and the suggestion of W. Salter, late consul at Hankow, that the Chinese Government should be urged to fix the value of the tael, so that a certain weight of silver at Peking may represent the same value in any part of the Empire.

The subject of the currency

of

Hon. Hamilton Fish,

Secretary of State.

of this country is a perplexing one, into which it is not needful to enter at the present moment, further than to answer your inquiry. Mr. Salter is correct when he says the tael of China is not a coin, but he is not exact when he says it is a piece of silver. It is a weight like our ounce, and is the sixteenth part of a kin or catty, the Chinese pound. Instead of being uniform like our weights, throughout the country in which they are the standard, the weight of the tael differs in the different provinces; and appears, like almost everything else in China, to have acquired its standing and value among their inhabitants by the force of long habit. The variations

in

in its weight can be readily ascertained at the open ports, and to a certain degree in the adjoining regions, but in remoter parts not much is certainly known, tho' they are not very wide from the ports.

The variations in the weight of the tael at five of the open ports, taking the Shanghai weight as the standard, is as follows:-

1000 tael Shanghai equal 976 Canton;

1000 " do " 985 Tientsin;

1000 " do " 980/982 Hankow;

1000 " do " 996 Chifu;

1000 " do " 1000 Kiukiang.

Furthermore, not only does the weight vary at different places, but the standard fineness (touch) of the silver itself is not the same at the treaty ports. The silver

is

is cast into ingots (then called sycee) weighing from five to fifty taels, by private bankers, usually, who stamp them with the name of the firm and the place and date; and they are thus used in commercial transactions without question, if the firm that issues them sustains a good reputation. The small ingots are usually unstamped, and those of all sizes are immediately cut in two by shears, if there is the least dispute about the fineness of the metal. Each port appears to have its own standard of fineness, which is generally maintained by all fair dealers. The silver in Shanghai is of the standard fineness of Mexican dollars; while that of the ports on the River Yangtsz' and north of it is purer, making the tael

of

of Hankow, Chifu, and Tientsin of greater value, owing to the advantage in weight and better quality of sycee.

Many years since the weight and relative value of the tael and the Mexican dollar at Canton were ascertained and fixed, and have since remained substantially the same. The weight at that port is 579 $\frac{72}{100}$ grains troy, and that of the Mexican dollar is 415 $\frac{25}{100}$ grains, which makes 717 $\frac{35}{100}$ taels equal to 1000 Mexican dollars. The long established rate now current among foreigners and in commercial transactions, makes 717 taels equal to 1000 Mexican dollars. Mercantile accounts at Canton and Fuhchau are kept in dollars; while at Shanghai and ports further north,

they

they are reckoned in taels, and dollars fluctuate in value. During 1869, the price of dollars at Shanghai varied from 74 to 78½ taels per $100; and the average during the year was 75 taels to $100. When dollars are referred to in connection with Chinese currency, Mexicans alone are meant since the year 1859, when Spanish dollars went out of use through scarcity.

From the foregoing you will see how difficult it is to get any correct idea in regard to the value of the tael; for the fact is, it has no standard value. The only remedy for this state of things would be the issue of a gold and silver currency in coins of convenient sizes

by

by the Government; and this has been repeatedly urged upon it as the usage of all other nations, and the most economical medium through which to administer its own finances. But the consciousness of its own inability to maintain the purity of such a coinage without the aid of foreigners; the inherent weakness of the central Government, which would quite prevent it from forcing a new currency upon the remote provinces; joined with the habit of having managed their business operations so long without a metallic currency, all operate to deter the officers from attempting its introduction. In the present state of public opinion

in

in China, it would, I think, be unwise for the Peking authorities to attempt to establish a mint of their own; but the extension of commerce, and familiar use of the Mexican dollar in the interior, will gradually prepare the way for a national currency more uniform and convenient than the copper coin now in use.

Such being the facts of the case, it seems to me injudicious to urge upon the Government the reform of its currency, and the preliminary step, so absolutely necessary before it could bring about, according to Mr. Salter's suggestions, a fixed value of the tael.

tael. For further details upon this intricate subject of Chinese currency, I beg to refer you and the Hon'ble Secretary of the Treasury, to the Chinese Commercial Guide by S. Wells Williams, 5th ed. pp. 264-375, a work now in the library of the State Department.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your Obedient Servant,

Frederick F. Low

Mr Davis - in his return
Dec 24
Ack'd 25 Oct
Mr Pinto

No 22 3 Enclosures

DEPARTMENT OF STATE RECEIVED OCT 24 1870

FOREIGN Relations '70

Frederick F. Low

to

Department of State

Peking August 18. 1870

Makes a statement in regard to the many reports of insecurity of life and property, and criticises the action of the Protestant Missionaries in Tientsin; also encloses documents bearing upon the same subject

Original Enclosures sent to printer

No 22 3 Enclosures

Legation of the United States
Peking August 18 1870

Sir:—

The alarm which the Tientsin tragedy produced does not subside. On the contrary the feeling of insecurity and peril among foreigners seems to increase

The Protestant Missionaries in Tientsin have been gathering the testimony of native Christians, and upon this they base opinions and publish them, which, though honest, are far from being true, Hon Hamilton Fish judged Secretary of State

judged by the testimony, direct and corroborative, that comes to me from all sources.

As a sample of the letters which are given to the public through the newspapers I send herewith (inclosure A) one from Revd Mr Stanley of Tientsin to me, which he thought of sufficient importance to publish in the Shanghai papers. In it, you will observe, he gives it as his opinion that the riot at Tientsin was a part of a grand plot to massacre or drive out all foreigners residing in China, and not a local uprising against one nationality, and one religious

religious creed. With this original of this letter Mr Stanley sent me the affidavits, or statements, of a number of native christians (whom he professed to believe told the truth.) One of the witnesses deposed that he was arrested by the mob as a "christian", taken to a building, or a prison, and detained until evening; when examined he was able to prove that he was a protestant, and a member of the American church, when he was immediately released and safely conducted to the foreign settlement. If this statement is true (and it is corroborated by other testimony)

it

it goes to show that Mr Stanley's opinions are erroneous, and that the fury of the mob was directed against the Roman Catholics alone

Rumors of threatened attack are almost daily put in circulation, which upon investigation usually prove to be without foundation other than the belief of some native christian. These stories always increase in size and intensity in the relating, and are finally embodied in communications to the Shanghai newspapers for publication, and by this means gain a large circulation. From the newspapers the stories are translated and told to the Chinese,

and

and by them related to one another in the remote parts of the Empire. All this is calculated to excite alarm among foreigners, and this alarm leads the ignorant natives to believe that they are really powerful enough to expel all foreigners. To one thing, in my opinion, is productive of so much harm as the misguided zeal of the missionaries in the direction I have indicated

It not only intensifies the hatred of the natives towards foreigners, but it also adds to the bitter hostilities entertained by foreigners toward natives

It is natural that missionaries

of

of all denominations should be alarmed at any religious crusade which assumes the form of a bloody massacre, not knowing how soon a false rumor may be put afloat regarding their particular faiths. And while this is all true, their lack of discretion in such a crisis is painfully apparent; and their zeal, at the present time, in invo=king the vengeance of the God of War, seems greater, than in inculcating the divine precepts of the Prince of Peace, of whom they profess to be humble followers

Today I received a copy of a letter written by Mr Stanley

to

to Commander Taylor of the U.S.S. Ashuelot now lying at Tientsin which I enclose — (Enclosure B) This you will observe is based on the opinions of "native christians" alone. A copy of the letter was sent by Mr Stanley to Peking and circulated among the missionaries which, as a matter of course, created much alarm. A portion of the statements I know to be incorrect untrue, and I hope the balance has no foundation in fact. This paper is sent merely as a sample of the reports that gain currency almost daily, in which foreigners

place

place more or less reliance, and serve to keep up excitement and create alarm as to their personal safety

An inspection of the Protestant Chapels discloses the fact that the damage is much greater than I was led to believe was the case by the first reports. The local Officials at Tientsin appear to be desirous of affording reparation promptly,— either to rebuild the Chapels or pay equitable damages,— and I instructed the Vice Consul to see the Missionaries, ascertain the cost of the buildings, and the damages sustained, to the end that prompt reparation might

might be made by the Chinese

A large amount of correspondence ensued between the Missionaries, the Consul and myself, copies of which are hardly necessary to send you; nor is it possible, were it desirable, with the inadequate clerical force attached to this Legation

I enclose, however, a printed slip from a newspaper (Enclosure C) which contains the reply of the English Missionaries to H. M.s Consul upon the same subject

The ideas embodied in the letter of the American Missionaries are about the same as the English, but the duties of foreign Nations

and

and their representatives in China, are elaborated and defined with greater particularity by the former. They close their communication to me by saying that until it is known what reparation France will demand, they are not prepared to agree upon a settlement

Both the American and English, Ministers appear to be inspired with the belief that they are somehow especially charged with diplomatic functions by their Governments, in addition to their self imposed task of taking care of the spiritual welfare of the

Chinese

Chinese; and according to their diplomatic judgement a war between France and China must first take place before it is proper to adjust any claims for property destroyed in the late riots at Tientsin.

I have notified them that, when they are ready for a settlement I shall be prepared to present and urge the payment of a just claim for damages; but until they signify their willingness to act, I shall take no farther steps in the matter

I am, Sir
Your obedient Servant
Frederick F. Low

Enclosure A 1257
A 1, Despatch 22

From Shanghai Courier July 22 1870

"Tientsin 9th July 1870

"Hon F. F. Low 303

"U S Minister, Peking

Sir,- As strenuous efforts are being made by the Chinese Authorities, and some others, to divert the recent occurrences at Tientsin with the nature of a popular outbreak, and as directed against the Catholics alone, I desire to lay before you some evidence indicating that such is not the case

It is well known that the rumors at first pointed more especially to the Catholics—particularly to the Sisters of Charity.

It is equally well known that these rumors soon referred to the entire foreign population of Tientsin, and that a day was fixed and arrangements made for an attack on the French Consulate, Tien-chu-tang, Jên-tsz-tang, and other places in and near the city, viz. the 21st of June (23rd of the 5th moon); and that the following Friday, June 24th, was fixed as the day for attacking the foreign settlement.

Being absent on a mission tour at the time, I found indefinite rumors of an intended attack, on the foreign residents of Tientsin, in circulation about the 25th ult., at Têh Chow, a city 500 li distant from Tientsin. Mr. Hodge, of the Eng. Meth. Miss., heard the same at Lau-ling, about 400 li distant—and that the 21st and 24th of June were the days fixed on for the attack. In both cases, the event was spoken of as future; and no distinction in the nationality of foreigners was made.

On the morning of the tragic day, the Taotai, Futai, and Chih-hsien visited the Tien-chu-tang, and were shown over the entire premises. They made no effort to disperse the great crowd that had followed them and collected in front of the place, nor to assure the people that they found no evidence of the foul deeds charged upon the Romanists. It is certain that very soon after their departure, the fire gongs sounded and the attack commenced; that the military officer Chên-ta-ewai (or Kwo-kui) arrived with some soldiers and closed the bridge of boats, (which had been opened by order of Chung-ta-jên to prevent the mob from crossing,) and aided the rabble in its work.

At the sound of the gongs—the usual fire signal—all the fire guilds *rushed* to *arms*, instead of seizing their buckets as ordinarily, and hastened towards the French Consulate and Tien-chu-tang. From first to last, the members of these fire guilds were among the most active in the work of destruction and death.

The first attack was made on the French Consulate; and had actually commenced before the Consul went to Chung's Yamên. Some, or all of its inmates,—including Mr. Thommasin, Secretary of French Legation and wife, just arrived—were murdered *before* he left the Yamên, and he was murdered on his way back to the Consulate in charge of Chung's escort.

No sooner had the destruction of the French Consulate and Tien-chu-tang been completed, than the crowd rushed off to the Jên-tsz-tang, where ten Sisters of Charity were subjected to the most horrible death, and their premises burned.

A portion of the mob then made for the Protestant Chapels, *all* of which—eight in number—were despoiled of everything valuable, and their walls in many cases torn down. A portion of the mob, yelling with rage, started for the foreign settlement, with the avowed purpose of killing all foreigners and sacking the place. We know not what prevented their coming, unless it be that their numbers seemed too few, and they would violate the original plan. Three Russians fleeing from the city were killed, while begging for mercy on the plea—"We are not French!" "No matter, we will kill all foreigners," was the reply.

An attempt was also made to fire the steeple of the settlement Church—a signal, doubtless, for the descent of the mob.

From the first, the ruffians have asserted their expectation of aid from the Governor-General's army. And it is positively known that soldiers from the Chên-tai Yamên were among the most active in the destruction of the French Consulate, Tien-chu-tang, and one of the Chapels of the American Board; and, as above indicated, that the mob was encouraged, if not directly led in the attack on the former places, by a military mandarin named Chên. His language, on passing the bridge, was 好小子過去燒罷—"Go on my boys and burn (them)."

There is no evidence that the rumour concerning the employment of men, by the Sisters, to kidnap children for unholy purposes, viz. to get their eyes, hearts and brains for medicine, is true. Nor is there evidence that the Consul fired a gun or revolver in Chung's Yamên. Circumstantial evidence is against both rumors. Probably the exact truth cannot now be ascertained.

I would call attention to the testimony of Yong-ti, concerning a visit paid to the burial-place of coffins said to have been brought from the Jên-tsz-t'ang. Others visited the place, and bear a similar testimony. Only one or two were new coffins—they saw, at most, only bones and a little hair, and utterly repudiate the idea of their being recent interments.

Tien-chu-tang (Catholic Cathedral) Jen tsz tang (Sisters of Charity Establishment)

Also to the testimony of Yü-chü-lei, concerning the effect on the crowd, as witnessed by himself, when the bugle sounded in the Chen-tai Yamên. Taken in connection (and only when so taken) with the fact that the soldiers took an active part in pulling down and plundering my chapel, as seen by him and Yang-sien-séng, and their reported activity in the destruction and murders at other places, this is a significant fact.

I would also direct attention to the incendiary nature of the proclamation, a copy of which I enclose.*

1. The names "swan," to bind, and "kwai," to kidnap, are such as no Chinaman would be likely to select as a cognomen, and give an apocryphal look to the persons.

2. The phrase "commissioned by persons" 受人囑託 is exceedingly objectionable, and unbecoming an official in its indefiniteness. The people at once said he referred to the Catholics. He could hardly have put it more ingeniously, considering the state of feeling among the people, in order to excite the populace.

It should be remembered that each fire guild has a head or chief, who is a literary man, and whose name is enrolled in the Yamên. The members of these guilds dare not arm, or participate in any uprising, as in this case, without the knowledge and consent of their chief. Would they dare countenance any such demonstration as this, contrary to the known wishes of the mandarin, or without his knowledge?

The volunteer force 團練 (?) "twan lien," organized years ago, in rebel times, has also a literary man for its chief, whose name is in the Yamên roll. The same may be asked concerning him. Yet the "twan lien" were engaged in the horrid affair.

Little companies of firemen and Yamên retainers had been observed frequently, during the few previous days, collecting here and there; and unpleasant demonstrations made towards native Christians and foreigners. I may instance the case of Mrs. Stanley, the peering into her face, jostling of the crowd against her, and the insulting language used as early as June 5th, Sabbath. Also the case of Mr. and Mrs. Turnock, on Sabbath, 19th June, on their way to one of the chapels. In passing such a group, collected on the steps of a temple, insulting language was used, a thing formerly very rare here, and brickbats picked up, though none were thrown.

Do not these gatherings explain the universality and speed with which the firemen flew to arms when the fire signal sounded; and, from all quarters, proceeded to the French Consulate?

If those connected with the Tün-chu-chian —especially the Sisters of Charity—were the only objects of popular hatred, why was the Consulate the first object of attack? Why was a French merchant and wife, living a mile away from the Tien-chu-t'ang, among the first victims? Or if the feeling extended to their co-religionists and fellow-countrymen only, why were the Russians brutally cut down while begging for mercy, and known not to be French, with the cry, "Death to all foreigners"?

Why was diligent search made for the Protestant Missionaries in their chapels, for the purpose (avowed) of killing them, and all (8) their chapels destroyed? Why were our converts beaten, robbed, driven from their homes, dragged before the magistrates, and why still subjected to a bitter malice? Why did the mob start for the settlement with purposes of blood and plunder?

If simply a popular movement, why, in the already excited state of feeling, did the magistrates issue those incendiary proclamations? Why did they not seek of the Consuls a thorough investigation of the matter, and take all necessary means to allay the excitement?

Why did they not issue counter proclamations, as desired by Mr. Lees of the L. M. S.? Why did they allow a large crowd to follow them and collect at the Fr. Consulate, and go away without an effort to disperse it, or correct the erroneous charges and views of the people? Why have the people from the first claimed the officials as siding with them, if they had no reason for so doing?

Why did the soldiers and firemen render such efficient aid in the work of destruction, if their chiefs, the officials, were opposed to it?

At a place 50 li from this, where I spent the night of July 1st, the frequent remark in the street was, "All the foreigners at Tientsin are dead—we might as well kill this one and end them." The impression if not the expression is significant.

Notwithstanding proclamations forbidding to carry or manufacture arms, both have been done openly to the present time; and at the five quarters, and other places, arms are exposed ready for use.

Until the present time, no attempt has been made, so far as we can hear, to apprehend any of the rioters. Some of them are as loud as ever in their threats of an attack on the settlement.

In conclusion, I would utter my solemn protest against the efforts of some to show: 1st. That the feeling was and is only against the Catholics. Evidence to the contrary is too strong. Even admitting it, humanity cries out against such heartless and unchristian assumptions as that they brought upon themselves a deserved fate. Justice, even to bitterest enemies. 2nd. That the mob partook of the nature of a public excitement merely. Evidence is abundant that, but for official encouragement, such a tragedy could not have been enacted. The history of these mobs against foreigners, within the last few years, would be full of interest.

And may I express the hope that such a settlement of this affair will be made as to render the repetition of such barbarous deeds all but impossible? I am no advocate of cruel or retaliative measures. But justice and humanity alike demand a firm and decided action in the fear of God.

Let the conduct of these officials be thoroughly investigated, and their actions sifted. Let them know that where evidence is so strong, they cannot cast the blame on an innocent people, or pay a few dollars and wipe out the stain of bloodshed and cruelties too horrible and heart-rending to mention.

America has lost no children; but others have, and we should stand by them in demanding a full investigation, impartial justice, and determined punishment of the guilty.

Let this be done; then let them make good the losses of their own people, contrary to treaty stipulations, simply for being followers of the Savior; let them replace our chapels with their own hands, or pay their full value, as we may prefer, which I believe to be but just in the circumstances, and I think the ends of peace and safety will be gained, and the way opened for the more speedy extension of the truth.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Yours obediently,

C. A. STANLEY,

Missy. Amer. Board, Tientsin.

Address Kaze 303

151

Enclosure B 125
Dispatch 22

B

American Board's Mission

Tientsin Aug 12 1870

305

Capt B B Taylor U.S.N. to page 307.

Com'r W S Schuyler. Dear Sir

Among the many reports now in circulation one came to my knowledge a day or two ago which seems to me worthy of attention. My informant, I may say, is an intelligent person who formerly occupied the position of City Magistrate in Shpuei. For some months back he has been attending my chapels in the City, and expressed a conviction of the truths of what we teach sometime previous to the recent ~~attack~~ outbreak. He is in no way connected with us, however and still visits, as before, among his former official friends, and may be supposed to know something of their

News

views and feelings. His manner impressed me from the first as being that of an honest Chinaman, and I have reason to believe he expressed his honest convictions, and desires our welfare. Time will show whether his views are just. He confirms a statement I heard a few days since that Li Hung-Chang is on his way here with some 13000 troops;- the van of this army has arrived already. Li is simply a military Mandarin, and his presence is only wanted where there is, or is to be, fighting. So say others. He says further that the Government does not wish to go to war; that it is willing to execute any number of the "roughs", and banish the officials whose heads have been demanded by His Excellency Count Rochechouart. But they cannot be executed according

to

to Chinese law: Hence as a last resort in view of this demand, war is determined on. The people demand it without a thought of the final results. They think they can easily expel or kill the few foreigners in China - especially in the north, and their work is done. Hence an Imperial decree has gone forth, for preparations for a general rising against foreigners. He firmly believes it will take place; at any rate he knows of extensive preparations making here, which will burst upon us as suddenly as the events of the 21st of June. No reference is made to the French, as such, but to foreigners. He is earnest in urging his advice that the Missionaries leave at once as the danger is increasing daily, and the crisis is near at hand.

Yrs

viz: Aug 21. & 22c. He expresses great surprise at the apparent indifference of foreigners when such a crisis is on us, in not collecting a large force of troops here. He says the Chinese force numbers some 40000 or 50000 troops, and that the preparations are very extensive:- these complete and the attack begins without warning.

All the above is confirmed by a school teacher who came to see me last evening, to give warning and offer any assistance in his power. He has been a frequent attendant at my Chapel for months. He also speaks of one Ting I (or Jim) Chang, brother of the present Toutai of Tientsin, who is on his way here

here with a large body of men
from Kiang Si. This is confirmed by a 307
native christian just in from the country,
who reported the same to me this morning.
He also urges us to leave. As regards
preparations; the suddenness of the attack;
the time and the universality, as regards
foreigners, all accounts agree.
Remembering the scepticism with
which all reports were received previous
to the massacre, reports even less definite
than we are now receiving, and
the final result, I would suggest
if I may be so bold the propriety
of a constant watch being kept at
points advised and good for observation
Precautionary measures are never out of
place, and may save foreigners lives
I have the honor to be
C. A. Stanley
[B]

Address
N 305

C

Enclosure A
Despatch 22 1258.

From "Shanghai Courier" July 29. 1870

308

THE TIENTSIN MASSACRE.

The following correspondence has passed between H. B. M. Consul and Messrs. Lees and Hall, regarding the damage done to Protestant Mission property, during the recent outbreak.

H. B. M. CONSULATE,
Tientsin, 20th July, 1870.

SIR,—I have been requested by H. B. M.'s Chargé d'Affaires, to ascertain the amount of damage sustained by British subjects during the late unfortunate troubles.

As I am aware that many of your Chapels were destroyed, and much valuable property lost; I have to request you, if you see fit, to have estimates made of the losses and send them to me, in order that they may be forwarded to the Chinese Authorities.

Your obedient Servant,
W. H. LAY,
Acting Consul.

Tientsin, 21st July, 1870.

SIR,—We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your official letter to us, dated the 20th instant, touching the losses sustained by Missions we represent, during the recent outrages.

We cannot but express our surprise, not only that at this early stage we should be required to state the amount of those losses, but that, prior to the settlement of the more important questions which are still pending, the subject of monetary compensation should be entertained at all.

Apart altogether from the fact that we are yet uncertain as to the action which will be taken at the present crisis,—almost certainly by the French, and possibly even by our own Government,—action which it might be as useless as it would be impolitic for us to forestall, by consenting to any unsatisfactory condonation of the crimes which have been committed; it can hardly be necessary to remind you that, until peace has been definitively secured, there are various items of loss for which we should feel it to be our duty to claim compensation, the limits of which can hardly yet have been reached. Such is the utter disorganisation of this city and neighbourhood that all mission work must, in all likelihood, be suspended for months to come. Our respective staffs are thus thrown upon our hands. Our country converts, both in this province and in Shantung, are everywhere expecting new outbreaks, in their various districts. Native Christians in the city continue to be daily exposed to spoliation and personal injury, while there is every reason to fear that our own appearance in the streets would still be fraught with danger.

With respect to our chapels, we fear that, however willing we might be to meet the wishes of His Excellency, it is not possible for us to do so. Our converts hardly dare linger in the neighbourhood of the ruins; what hope can there be, then, that we can visit them in safety, or procure builders' estimates as to the cost of re-erection, not to speak of any actual attempt at restoration? Our deliberate conviction is, that such an attempt would only end in their renewed destruction, even if workmen could be found brave enough to undertake the task.

Will you forgive our expressing an anxious desire, not to be separated from our suffering French brethren, in any settlement of these unhappy troubles? This is not a mere question of sentiment. We cannot but feel that the interests of our country are involved in what has occurred. We are British subjects, resident here under the protection of treaties, and engaged in the prudent prosecution of our lawful calling. Our lives have been sought, our property has been destroyed, our converts grievously injured, and our characters assailed. Moreover, there seems good reason to believe, that at least one of the murdered Sisters was a British subject. There cannot be the slightest doubt upon the mind of anyone who has been brought much into converse with the people, during the last few weeks, that the original design was to treat all nationalities alike. It is easy to understand why the mandarins are now anxious to produce a different impression. But just as the excuses which unhappily served them so well, in regard to the outrages at Formosa, Yangchow, and elsewhere, fail them now, so should the evident falsity of their present professions, of special friendship with ourselves, fail to separate us from those allies with whose interests our own so evidently are bound up.

We beg you will not mistake us. We are not crying for war and vengeance, but we do claim justice, and we hold most firmly to the belief, that the path of safety and of honour, no less for individual Englishmen, than for our Government, is to stand by our fellow-sufferers in the hour of trial. Nay, more, we believe this, for obvious reasons, to be the most merciful line of action in reference to the Chinese themselves.

We scarcely know, whether we ought to apologise for venturing to express such views, for we hope that they find an echo in your own and every other heart. We have only, therefore, respectfully to assure you that we shall strive to meet, as soon as possible, the wishes of H. B. M. Chargé d'Affaires, and to request you to represent to him our difficulties in the matter.

We are, Sir,
Your most obdt. Servants,
JONATHAN LEES,
London Mission Society.
WILLIAM N. HALL,
Methodist Mission Society.

To W. H. LAY, Esq.,
H. B. M. Consul.

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Cust
8 Oct



No 23

Admiralty
Ca 24
Mr. Scott
Ack'd 25 Oct

Frederick F. Low

—— to ——

Department of State

Peking August 20. 1870

Acknowledges receipt of Department
despatch instructing him to use his
good offices in aid of N. German
in acquiring a Naval Station on the
Coast of China, and informs the
Department that he has notified the
N. German Minister of his readiness to act

No 23.

Legation of the United States

Peking August 20 1870

Sir:-

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your No 10 of 26th May, instructing me to use my good offices in aid of an effort that will be made by the North German Confederation to obtain a concession from the Chinese Government for the establishment of a Naval station on the Coast of China

I have notified the Hon Hamilton Fish representation Secretary of State

representative of North
Germany, that I shall be
glad to afford him any
assistance in my power
whenever he is ready to act

I have the honor to be

Sir,

Your obedient servant

Frederick F. Low

Mr Davis
No 24
Mr Pratt
Ack. 25 Oct

DEPARTMENT OF STATE RECEIVED OCT 1870

Dispatch No: 24

FOREIGN Relations 1870

Confidential

Frederick F. Low

To Department of State.

Peking, August 22d 1870.

Subject.

Action of Count Rochechouart in relation to the riot at Tientsin, which has annoyed the Chinese, weakened his own position, and tended to render a settlement more difficult

All

Dispatch N: 24 Confidential

Legation of the United States,

Peking, August 22 1870.

Sir,

In my dispatch N: 18. I reported to you that the French Chargé d'Affaires was in Tientsin, where he had gone to attend to the interment of the unfortunate victims of the late riot; that a large naval force had collected at Tientsin and its vicinity; that the French Admiral was expected to meet the Chargé at that place; and that affairs generally looked troubled I also stated that instructions were daily expected from France by telegraph

viâ

Hon. Hamilton Fish,

Secretary of State.

viâ Russia, indicating the reparation which would be demanded for the outrages of the 21st June; and that, until such instructions should arrive, no specific demands would be made on the Chinese, and consequently all speculation would be at fault in forecasting the result.

A few days after the arrival of Count Rochechouart at Tientsin, the Legations here were surprised to learn through the Chinese officials that he had demanded the punishment (decapitation) of the two local officials who were suspected of complicity in the riot, for he had investigated the matter and satisfied himself of their guilt, and that if condign punishment

nishment was not meted out without delay, he should feel himself at liberty to withdraw his Legation and the French subjects from Peking, turning the whole matter over to the Admiral, who would take such action as he deemed necessary to enforce the demand and maintain the honor of France.

The Government notified the other Foreign Ministers of this demand, and intimated that it would not be complied with; but said that the officials referred to had been deprived of office, degraded from their rank, and handed over to the Board of Punishments for trial, and if found guilty would be punished with extreme rigor. Further

than

than this, they could not and would not go, and if was, the alternative it must be accepted as the inevitable result. I presume that this answer was communicated officially to M. Rochechouart, but am not sure. It is believed that Admiral Dupré refused, in the absence of specific instructions from his Government, to enforce the demand; and perhaps the news that hostilities were imminent between France and North Germany caused the French naval officers to be more cautious than they otherwise would. The French Chargé denies having received any instructions; and it is likely that the preparations for war in Europe have absorbed the entire

attention

attention of the French Government, so that this affair is lost sight of for the moment. Consequently, thus far nothing has been; M. Rochechouart has returned to Peking; and the whole matter is in abeyance.

The situation is much less satisfactory than it was a month ago. The Chinese Government then appeared willing to accede to any reasonable demands for redress; now they seem indisposed to adopt any active measures. Undoubtedly the news of hostilities in Europe leads them to believe that there is small probability of France being able to commence offensive operations this autumn, and the

vigors

rigors of a northern winter will delay all action until next summer; but more than that, the unwise action of the French Chargé in making his demand and then failing to enforce it, has produced a feeling of indifference which the officials appear to believe can be indulged in with impunity.

In this connection I may observe that, in my opinion, the most disastrous thing a foreign nation can do when dealing with an oriental people, is to make demands, the compliance with which will degrade the native officials in the estimation of their own people; or to threaten to resort to force to secure compliance,

and

and then fail to carry the threat into effect.

If the untoward results which are sure to follow the action of the French Chargé, were confined to his own countrymen, other nations need not criticise his proceedings; but where the interests of all foreigners are so intimately connected as they are in China, and one nation by its acts can seriously affect all others, the action of each diplomatic Representative is justly the subject of criticism by other nations whose subjects or citizens are affected thereby. In this view, I feel at liberty to say that, in my judgment, the proceedings of M. Rochechouart have been inconsistent, unwise, and harmful. Instead

of

of availing himself of the aid of his colleagues – which they were all willing to render – to bring to bear upon the Chinese Government a moral pressure that would have proven advantageous to all, he has repelled their proffered aid and thwarted measures initiated by them for the general good; even after he had, soon after the riot, expressed himself as willing to accord with their general views, and in that sense had joined in the united letter of June 24 to Prince Kung.

The result is inevitable. The mass of the people will misinterpret the inaction of their Government into an approval of the massacre, and tend to confirm their belief that all

foreigners

foreigners are demons, intensify their hatred, and be likely to bring on collision and bloodshed.

If the present Representative of France is allowed to remain and is charged by his Government with a settlement of this difficulty, I predict that a war between it and China will be the inevitable result, into which other nations will be drawn to protect their citizens and subjects from the aggressions of the Chinese; and these aggressions will, in a great measure, be chargeable to the unwise action detailed above.

No more favorable opportunity could have occurred to carry out the

principles

principles of the coöperative policy than the present, and by a united movement, by which I think all other foreign representatives would have strengthened the hands of the French Chargé. This vacillating and weak Government would probably have been brought to take a decided course of action towards their own subjects, and made the stronger for feeling that they had the moral aid and sanction of all Treaty Powers in dealing with a most difficult and serious matter. Whether the result would have been acceptable to all, or equal to my wishes in avoiding a war, may be doubted; but the prospect of keeping that influence with Prince Kung and his associates, which this united action would have brought about, has been very greatly

weakened

weakened by M. Rochechouart's isolated
and infirm policy

I have the honor to be
Sir,
Your obedient servant
Frederick F. Low

DEPARTMENT OF STATE RECEIVED OCT 24 1870

FOREIGN Relations '70

No 25

4 Enclosures

Copy and Enclosures

Frederick F. Low

to

Department of State

Peking August 24. 1870

Encloses copy of a letter from the Vice Consul at Swatow, and sundry Proclamations relating to the Tientsin riot, and makes observations upon the effect of that affair upon the people.

No 25 — 4 Enclosures

Legation of the United States
Peking August 24 1870

Sir:—

Since the late riot at Tientsin much speculation has been indulged in as to the causes, and much pains has been taken to ascertain the fact, whether it was local in its origin or whether it was a part of a wide-spread conspiracy. Most foreigners at the ports were quite willing to accept the latter view, and the newspapers, so far as I have seen, adopted the same theory. The columns of the Rep Hon Hamilton Fish during Secretary of State

during the past two months have
turned with editorials and
correspondence, which if true, would
justify every foreigner in departing
the country instanter, without standing
upon the order of his going.

The measures of redress advocated
by the people and the press have
been extravagant, unreasonable,
and, in most cases, impracticable.

All sorts of measures of retaliation
have been proposed - scarcely any
proposing anything less than the
opening up, by force, of the whole
Empire to foreign intercourse;
and, from that up to the
decapitation of all the government
officials, the overthrow of the
present

Government, and placing the country under a foreign protectorate

My opinion from the first has been that the disturbance was local — confined to Tientsin and its vicinity — I do not believe there was any knowledge of the intended riot among the natives in this City, — eighty miles distant All the testimony that comes to me from reliable sources only confirms the opinion I had formed. The danger that I apprehended was, the effect of the news of the riot would have upon the inhabitants at points distant from the scene of the disaster

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It seemed altogether likely that the Chinese would, as a matter of course, believe the tales of their own countrymen as to the moving causes, and justify the retribution which had befallen the Catholics, for their alleged evil practices

To counteract the effect elsewhere it seemed to me important that an official denial, emanating from the highest authority, should be given, to the truth of the stories that had been circulated in regard to kidnapping and its attendant cruelties, and that the authors of, and the aiders and abettors in, the riot should be promptly and severely punished.

I

I have received a very interesting and instructive letter from the Vice Consul at Swatow bearing upon this subject; a copy of which I beg to enclose (enclosure A) From this statement it is apparent that nothing was known there of the riot prior to its occurrence A similar statement comes to me from the Consul at Newchwang — a port much nearer to Tientsin than Swatow. In both places, however, the effect of the news was to create excitement among the people. Full faith and credit were given to the reports of Kidnapping, and but little

disguise

disguise was apparent among the people generally, in expressing their approval of the retaliatory measures

The Consul at Swatow, you will observe, expresses the opinion that punishment of the guilty without an official denial of the truth of the reports that incited the mob, would be of little avail in quieting the people Unless this was done the people would still believe that punishment had been inflicted in obedience to the demands of foreigners, and not to satisfy offended justice

The language of the Chinaman is

"it will be hard to be right and
have to suffer also" expresses
the whole idea

In view of this popular &
feeling the Imperial Decree, a
translation of which I enclose,
(enclosure B) is an important
document, and will, I trust,
be productive of good. It
is not as clear and explicit as
I could have wished, but it
is all that can reasonably be
expected from Officials trained
as they have been, and harboring
superstitions that would have
been considered radical in the
days of Salem witchcraft

Enclosure C is a
translation

translation of the offensive proclamation which the Prefect of Finistere put forth about the 10th June, which it is believed, was mainly instrumental in stirring up the people It is, certainly, a very offensive document, and well calculated to produce the terrible results which followed

Enclosure D is a translation of a decree ordering the two suspended Magistrates back to Finistere for the commencement of examination. These are the two officials whose summary punishment the French Chargé demanded

I

I regret to be compelled to say that the delay of the officials in this whole matter augurs ill for the future. At first they appeared to be greatly alarmed, and anxious to get advice from the foreign & diplomatic representatives as to their proper course, in order to do justice, and avoid a hostile demonstration on the part of the French. Latterly this feeling has given way to one of, & coolness, bordering upon indifference. This change is attributable partly to the action of the French Chargé, as detailed in my No 24, and the knowledge that

that France is engaged in a hostilities at home; and partly to the practical difficulties in the way of ascertaining and bringing to justice the criminals in Tientsin, against the public opinion of the entire population of that city. These causes are likely to defeat the well-intentioned plans and purposes of the Officials, formed in the beginning; and things will be likely to drift along until France gets ready to apply force to compel a settlement.

Fans are now being manufactured and sold in Tientsin having coarsely engraved views

of

of the burning buildings and the murdering of the people in the streets upon them. Fans to the Chinese are what illustrated papers are to the people of the United States. They are made to suit the tastes of the people, and the fact that such engravings will cause a better sale for the fans is a conclusive argument that there is no sentiment of regret or sorrow among the people over the result of the riot. There is, undoubtedly, greater unanimity of opinion there in favor of the rioters, than there is in Ireland among the peasantry in favor of one of their murderous shoots his landlord. If this feeling

feeling in Ireland is strong enough to baffle all attempts of the English Government to bring to justice, by the ordinary forms of law, a peasant accused of injuring the person or property of his landlord, is it surprising that this feeble Central Government should find it difficult to ascertain and punish the rioters in a city of 400,000 inhabitants, all of whom either aided in the massacre or sympathize with the criminals.

It is this spirit among the people that portends evil; and I shall not be surprised to hear of similar outbreaks elsewhere until a change in the feeling

of

of the populace soon takes place. All the foreign representatives here are doing what they can to secure action by the Government which will change the current of public sentiment, and thereby add to the safety of their countrymen residing here. I shall continue to urge upon the Chinese officials measures, calculated to promote the security and welfare of foreigners, and at the same time insure peace and benifits to the people here and stability to their Government. Further than this I do not feel at liberty to go, were I so disposed,

which

which I am not

I have the honor to be

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

Frederick F. Low,

Despatch № 28
Enclosure A

Consulate of the United States,
Swatow July 25/70

Sir

It may be of interest to your Excellency to learn the effect produced upon the Chinese mind by distant ports by the news of the atrocity at Tientsin

I have the honor, therefore, to communicate to you a digest of observations thus far

It is proper to remark, in the way of preface, that my opportunities for learning speedily and correctly are full and reliable; for in connection with my missionary work, I have assistants stationed in nearly all of the principal cities of the Prefecture. In accordance with

an

are established usage these assistants write to me in the early part of every week. Their letters are concerned exclusively with their legitimate work. They are not encouraged to allude to the common gossip of the places where they are. It is only when something stirs up unusual commotion that information on the subject is communicated to me. The next subsequent to the dissemination of the Tientsin intelligence these letters of the assistants came to me freighted with the same stories of what was being said among the Chinese. It is impossible that they could have communication with each other. The letters are therefore independent sources of

of information, and mutually corroborate each other. Besides the above I have myself taken special pains to ascertain by personal converse with persons the movements of popular feeling, and can therefore make my statements with confidence

After the exercise of a due discrimination between what is local and what is general; what is rumor and what is substantiated, I find myself in possession of information that may be comprised in the following points: 1st Within a week after the first receipt of the news here it was well known in all the towns and cities in this Department. There have been three distinct sources of information 1st Intelligence contained in the Hong Kong papers; 2d Numerous letters received

received by the Chinese from Hong Kong, from Shanghai, and from Tientsin. Many Chinese from this region reside in those places in the prosecution of business; and 2d verbal information given at various Yamens to those who enquire 2d In every instance the Chinese version of the affair has received credence. With slight variations the story given out has been (that foreigners have been) kidnapping children for the most horrible purposes; that a Mandarin went to the Roman Catholic hospital to remonstrate; that he was set upon by the priests and killed, or as some say fired upon; that this was more than the people could bear and then they rose for self protection; that in the collision which ensued many Chinese were

were killed and many foreigners also
2c A bitter malicious rancor towards
foreigners suddenly developed itself.
Some of this feeling was the natural
result of faith in the stories about
Kidnapping. But it would be a
delusion to ascribe it all to that
source. It was plain that a long
cherished but suppressed ill will was
taking occasion to assert itself.
I am to inquire me to state that the general
feeling about the massacre was grat-
ulation amounting in some instances
to gloating. Persons connected with
us have been threatened, and told that
the time for the destruction of the rest
of us would come bye and by.
In the first phrenzy of the excitement
the soldiers under Peng-Ta-Yeh assaulted

and

and partially destroyed, several houses connected with the English Presbyterian Mission. However on complaints being made, the officers in charge caused some of the ringleaders to be punished but declined the responsibility of making restitution. One of my own assistants, for expressing abhorrence of the treatment of the Sisters of Charity, was assaulted and beaten and threatened with death by a squad of soldiers under the command of a petty officer travelling with him at the time on the same passage boat. 4th The first Imperial edict made in reply to the memorial of Chunghow, and directing enquiry into the truth of the Kidnapping story, and also after the originators of the disturbance, became known here about

about a week after the first news of the massacre. It produces a manifest effect in making the people more cautious in exposing themselves. But unfortunately, the effect is to confirm the mass in their opinion that the enormities attributed to the sisters of charity, were actually perpetrated; and as the charge remains uncontradicted, the bitter feeling, though smothered a little, remains in ~~full~~ force unabated. The extinction of the false impression is a matter of importance to us even at this remote distance. This can be done effectually only through an Imperial edict declaring the falsity of the charges after a full investigation has been held. Any action taken by the French Government which does

does not involve such a declaration from the Throne will leave the adjustment of the difficulty incomplete. I say this for the reason that Chinese of standing and intelligence have told me the mass of the people do believe their own mandarins were assaulted while in the discharge of a legitimate though disagreeable duty, and "that it will be hard to bear to be in the right and have to suffer for it also" The truth should therefore be fully set forth, and then subsequent measures will have their proper moral effect It is to be feared that a commission composed exclusively of high Chinese officials without any foreigners will fail to present the truth and we shall suffer in consequence, in the general

general estimation.

5th I am told by Numbers of Chinese of respectability that when this mode of settlement of the Pientsin difficulty depends the security of our future relations. There has been an opinion gaining ground here for years, and I speak now from personal knowledge, that a time was coming when ~~this~~ a different tone should be used towards foreigners which would be sustained by force if necessary. Such a sentiment in the territory adjacent to a small port is of itself no great moment, save as the constant iteration of it prepares the mind of the people for making the trouble they predict. Now the Massacre of the North has occurred, there has been

been excited an intense desire to see how it will end. It is plain the Chinese in this region will be influenced by it for good or for evil; to annoy and hamper us or allow us the quiet enjoyment of treaty rights.

I have the honor to be
Your obedient servant
W Ashmore
Vice Consul

To
His Excellency
Frederick F. Low,
Minister &c

Dispatch No. 25
Inclosure B

Tungchi, 9th year, 6th moon, 27th day.

(July 29th 1870.)

Prince Kung, chief Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, herewith makes a communication.

Two days since, I was honored by receiving the following Imperial Decree:-

"Tsăng Kwoh-fan and Tsunghow have "sent up the following Memorial, wherein "they give the results of their inquiry into "the riot at Tientsin and its attendant "circumstances:-

"'We have thoroughly examined into "'the charges brought against the Roman "'Catholics of having bewitched and carried "'off people, and find that there is no reli- "'able evidence that the missionaries had "'anything to do with it; for Wang-san who

"'at

"'at first confessed that he had given
"'drugs to Wu Lan-chin, afterwards retra-
"'cted all he had said, and their Deposition
"'did not agree. Further, the boys and
"'girls taken from the Hospital of
"'the Sisters of Charity, more than 150
"'altogether, all declare that they were
"'brought to the place by their relatives,
"'and not one among them had been
"'kidnapped.

"'When Tsêng Kwoh-fan first
"'reached Tientsin, he personally made
"'inquiries and fully questioned people
"'about the accusations of taking out
"'eyes and opening hearts, but not one
"'of them could bring forward a single
"'actual case; nor had any family in or
"'around the city of Tientsin complained

"'in

"' in the courts of having lost children.
"' The incidents closely resemble those
"' in the provinces of Kiangsi and Hunan,
"' in the cities of Yangchau and Tien-
"' tsin, and in Ta-ming and Kwangping
"' in this province [of Chihli], all of
"' which were caused by anonymous
"' inflammatory placards and exciting
"' talk by which people's minds were
"' distracted. Although these cases were
"' all satisfactorily settled, the truth or
"' falsity of these rumors and placards
"' was never fully investigated and made
"' generally known, while the people of
"' Tientsin were continually hearing
"' of them, and fully believed them to be
"' true.

"' Moreover, owing to the practice

"' of

"'of these foreign Roman Catholic mission
"'establishments to close their doors thro'
"'out the year; and to the existence of -
"'cellars under the mission house and
"'the Hospital of the Sisters of Charity, dug
"'to contain coal and prevent dampness;
"'and to the rule that persons under me-
"'dical treatment are not allowed to go
"'out; and lastly, that many of the poor
"'homeless wretches taken in for relief
"'were at the point of death [and suf-
"'fered great mortality], it came to pass
"'that the popular suspicions were all
"'strengthened and not dissipated.

"'During the months of May and
"'June, it happened that some kidnappers
"'who had used drugs to bewitch people
"'were arrested, and charged the Roman
"'Catholics

"'Catholics, with participation in their doings.

"'[On the day], the populace saw M. Fonta-

"'nier, the Consul, fire his pistol at the

"'officers, and immediately raising a great

"'cry throughout their ranks, at once ran

"'together, crying out, This is the one who

"'takes out the eyes and hearts and cuts up

"'human beings; — words that were mostly

"'wild rumors without a shadow of evidence

"'to support them.'

"The orders which were sent to —

"Tsäng Kwoh-fan and Tsunghow to jointly

"manage this affair with fairness, have now

"brought out this report, showing that the

"whole disturbance arose from unfounded

"rumors, which excited the suspicions of

"the people at Tientsin. This is plainly to

"be seen. If the same rumors prevail

"in

"in other provinces; they will give rise
"to endless suspicions which should be
"dissipated. It is to be feared, however, -
"that the strict laws relating to the
"bewitching and carrying off of children
"and people, have gradually come to be
"regarded as a dead letter; and the
"Board of Punishments is therefore
"ordered, whenever cases of this kind
"are brought before it, to inflict even -
"additional punishment on the guilty.
"The authorities in the provinces will
"follow the decisions of the Board of
"Punishments in dealing with all persons
"convicted of these crimes, and execute
"strict justice that the wicked and cruel
"may be deterred from similar doings.

"Peking itself, being the head

"of

"of the empire (lit. the place of the
"head of goodness), must still more be
"carefully cleared of such miscreants.
"Let the commandant of the metropo-
"litan guard therefore institute strict
"search, and let all kidnappers who
"are taken up be immediately deli-
"vered to the Board of Punishments
"for trial and condign punishment.
"Respect this."

In addition to the preceding,
I have received the following Decree:-
"Tsäng Kwoh-fan having reported that
"Chang Kwang-tsao, the prefect of Tien-
"tsin, and Lin Kieh the district ma-
"gistrate, had so acted as to excite a
"riot between the people and the
"Roman Catholics, and been very
"remiss

"remiss in taking precautions before
"it occurred, and since then have been
"unable to arrest the criminals -
"quickly, requests that they be degra-
"ded from their posts and handed
"over for trial and punishment. Let
"these two officers therefore be in-
"stantly deprived of their rank, and
"delivered to the Board of Punishments
"to be dealt with. Respect this."

I have now the honor to send you copies [of these two Decrees] for your Excellency's information.

To His Excellency
Frederick F. Low
United States Minister
to China.

Dispatch No. 25
Inclosure 6

Proclamation of the Prefect of Tientsin

Chang, prefect of Tientsin, hereby issues a second proclamation respecting measures to be taken to arrest [kidnappers.]

On the 6th of June, the constable of Yung-fung t'un (a village near Tientsin) seized and brought to this office two men named Chang and Kwoh, who had been arrested for stupefying and bewitching a lad named Li Ta-yang in the district of Tsinghai and carrying him off. On examination they confessed that they had used certain drugs and recited incantations in order to bewitch children to follow them. They were accordingly ordered to be executed in that district where the crime was committed, in accordance with directions

received

received from the higher courts.

Rumors have been circulated that these villains had carried on their practices by direction of certain persons, and had gone about the country to bewitch and kidnap children in order to take out their brains, eyes, and hearts to be used in preparing certain medicines. Detestable in the extreme! If instant measures are not taken to visit such things with condign punishments, how can the villagers be quieted, or the laws of the land vindicated? And the magistrate of Tientsin has sent out his policemen, and issued orders for them to arrest such men; but as Tientsin is a large city containing

a

a dense population, and the district is a wide region, it is really to be feared that these miscreants will not give up their practices, but will steal into its purlieus and hide themselves in out of the way places where they cannot be pursued, thence to watch their chance to conjure away ignorant and simple children. If such fellows are not sharply followed up and seized, how can these inhuman deeds be stopped and the country quieted? Competent detectives have therefore been appointed to follow up and arrest them, — to notify which is the object of this proclamation.

Issued about the 10th of June 1870

Dispatch N°. 25
Inclosure III

Tungchi, 9th year, 7th moon, 14th day.
(August 10th 1870.)

Prince Kung, chief Secretary of State for foreign affairs, herewith makes a communication.

On the 7th inst., I received the following Imperial Decree:-

"Chang Kwang-tsao the pre-
"fect of Tientsin, and Liu Kieh the
"district magistrate, both of whom have
"been degraded, were reported by Tsäng
"Kwoh-fan, and have been handed
"over to the Board for trial and pun-
"ishment. These degraded officers ought
"properly to be examined where their
"offense was committed; and at Tien-
"tsin, personal depositions can be
"taken,

"taken, and the accused confronted with
"witness, which will enable the
"Board of Punishments to examine
"and decide their cases equitably
"and intelligently. Let Tsien Ting.
"ming immediately send them to
"Tientsin in charge of a special
"officer, who will wait with them
"till their depositions and cross.
"examination are finished. Respect
"this."

It appears to me that as the riot in which these officers are involved occurred at Tientsin, it will be much easier to cross. examine and get the real facts there; and I have accordingly transmitted the above Decree,

requiring

requiring that the degraded prefect and magistrate give their evidence and be cross-examined before witness at Tientsin, preparatory to their being again delivered to the Board of Punishments for final sentence, to His Excellency Tsäng, Cabinet Minister and Governor-general of Chihli, to act in conformity thereto. And the object of this dispatch is to inform Y. E. of what has been done in this respect.

To His Excellency

Frederick F. Low,

Minister of the United States

to China.

Encl



Desp
No 26

No 26 1 Enclosure

Frederick F. Low

to

Department of State

Peking September 5 1870

Transmitting a printed pamphlet entitled The Tientsin Massacre with an Introductory Narrative

No 26 1 Enclosure

Legation of the United States
Peking September 5 1870

Sir:-

I have the honor to transmit herewith a pamphlet published at Shanghai, entitled "The Tientsin Massacre with an Introductory Narrative"

My purpose in laying this before you is,
1st, To give you the views of the Prep and the people generally at the Ports upon the Tientsin difficulty, and the situation generally

Hon. Hamilton Fish
Secretary of State

generally, and,

2d. To apprise you of the fact that the action your representative has seen proper, under his instructions and in view of the general policy of the United States towards China, to take, does not meet the unqualified approval of the Anglo-Chinese newspapers published at Shanghai

The action of the British Chargé d'Affairs has met with even greater condemnation than mine, while that of the Representatives of Russia and North Germany — although these gentlemen

are

are quite in accord with Mr Wade and myself — does not appear to be either approved or condemned

The exact line of action proper, in the opinion of these newspapers, for me to pursue, is not clearly pointed out, nor is it important that it should be

The pamphlet contains a varied collection of facts and fancies; assertions having little foundation in truth; and conclusions that will, I imagine strike you as extraordinary As a whole this and similar publications

publications will serve to
keep up the excitement
rather than enlighten the
people concerning the real
condition of affairs

I have the honor to be
Sir,
Your obedient servant
Frederick F. Low

U.S. CONSULATE
AUG
26
1870
SHANGHAI

The Hon. J. H. Low
U. S. minister &c &c
Pekin.

THE

TIENTSIN MASSACRE.

BEING DOCUMENTS PUBLISHED

IN THE

Shanghai Evening Courier

From June 16th, to 23rd August, 1870.

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY NARRATIVE.

Shanghai Evening Courier Office.

Pamphlet of information
used at Shanghai.

TIENTSIN MASSACRE

Illustrated & Framed Letters

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY NARRATIVE.

THE

TIENTSIN MASSACRE.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

IT is hardly an over-statement to say that the great majority of those foreigners who felt an interest in the foreign relations of China, believed that her misunderstandings and quarrels with the nations of the West were finally settled for a long time, when, in 1860, the boasted defences of her northern cities were stormed, her armies scattered like chaff, and her capital entered by foreign troops, the most sumptuous residence of her semi-deified emperor razed to the ground, and the official representatives of foreign powers established as permanent residents at his Court. But it is difficult to fathom the depths of semi-civilized duplicity, or to estimate how slow human pride and selfishness are to relinquish exclusive privileges enjoyed for ages;—into what volcanic energy popular prejudice and superstition can burst when they are stirred by an agency sufficiently powerful.

For some years after the Peiho expedition had opened the way by which foreigners could, in all disputes with provincial satraps, appeal directly to the Central Government, there were several causes why the Chinese in their intercourse promised to prove all that foreigners expected. The stern lessons of war were still freshly remembered; the Taiping, and thereafter the Nienfei, rebellion fully tasked the energies of the ruling classes and furnished scope for all the turbulent spirits of the empire, and foreign munitions of war and active assistance were essential to the very existence of the body politic. But when the rebels were subdued; when their troops were being rapidly drilled to foreign tactics; when they saw foreign arms and vessels of war beginning to issue from their own arsenals and dockyards; when their misinterpretation and flagrant evasions of numerous rights which the Treaty of Tientsin seemed to have secured for foreigners were quietly yielded up by the foreign representatives;—then the dearly bought lessons of 1860 began to be rapidly forgotten, and the jealousy and apprehension with which the privileged classes of China regarded the introduction of ideas and agencies calculated to overthrow their mischievous ascendency, began to show itself in many forms and places.

This uneasiness and hostility were stimulated, too by the knowledge that, about the end of 1868, foreigners were entitled to claim a Revision of the Treaty, and were almost certain to demand concessions which would greatly extend their influence. The grand expedient by which, *under foreign advice*, they sought to ward off this new danger—while to well-intentioned theorists and persons of sanguine temperament it seemed admirably fitted to break down the wall of separation between China and other nations—was so conducted as to make her more haughty and exclusive than ever. For when Mr. Burlingame went forth on his mission to foreign nations, to deprecate any quickening on their part of the speed at which China was prepared to accept extended intercourse with foreigners, he bore with him a commission, and was attended by associates of a character which clearly showed to those who know the Chinese, that his mission was an embodiment of the central error of Chinese policy—the idea namely that China is the one sovereignty of the world, and that all foreign nations are her feudal dependents. And when foreign governments, ignorant of such mischievous pretensions (though well warned of their practical tendency) received

the Chinese Embassy with cordiality, and responded to its pleas for time and forbearance by engagements and promises that indefinitely postponed foreign improvements, the Chinese government regarded this, or professed to regard it, as an acknowledgement on the part of the outside nations of the deference it became them to show to the "Middle Kingdom."

Such ideas being carefully disseminated throughout China by the Literati, a class much reverenced by the people, and directly interested in the perpetuation of existing misgovernment, it was not unnatural, however strange and unseasonable it might appear, that while Mr. Burlingame was drawing pictures as fair as they were false of China's rapid progress in all that constitutes national improvement, the misconceptions to which his friendly reception in Europe and America gave rise among the Chinese, became the fruitful cause of many deplorable acts, which show how utterly false and misleading the Burlingame Mission was, both in its design, and in its execution. The celebrated speech delivered by Mr. Burlingame in New York; his successful interviews with Lord Clarendon; and his grand reception in the centre of European diplomacy were fittingly succeeded by the long smouldering troubles of Formosa bursting into open violence; and being rapidly followed by those at Chefoo, in Szechuen, at Yang-chow and Swatow.

It was supposed that such accumulated evidence of the falsehood of Burlingame's representations would have caused a reaction in England and America against his temporising policy; more especially as the repressive measures of Admiral Keppel and Consuls Medhurst, Gibson and Alabaster—men trained under the vigorous policy of our earlier Chinese intercourse—proved in the highest degree successful. But, unhappily, Burlingame had so skilfully adapted his representations to the favorite ideas of some leading western statesmen—ideas which, however congenial to the condition of Europe at the close of the nineteenth century, are as inapplicable to China now as they would have been to Europe three centuries ago—that he was speedily able to notify to the Chinese that England disapproved of the action of her civil and naval officials in the suppression of the widespread disturbances above alluded to.

The immediate consequence of this intimation was fresh outrages on both English and French Missionaries at Nganking. These the English government speedily and without difficulty compromised for a money compensation. It was, perhaps, a significant hint of how the Chinese judged of this peaceable solution, that, when towards the close of 1869 Sir Rutherford Alcock visited Nankin, so lately the scene of Mr. Medhurst's triumph, he was subjected to an insulting slight by the Viceroy.

But other wrongs against French subjects in Kiangsi and Szechuen which the Peking government was unable or unwilling to punish, determined Count Rochechouart, Chargé d'affaires for France, to proceed up the Yangtse in person to enforce the treaty rights of his nationals. And the firmness, energy, and thoroughness with which he compelled the Viceroy, Ma, at Nankin, to compensate the sufferers, to punish the ringleaders, and to instruct in their duty to foreigners the people at Nganking; the governor of Kiangse to wring full indemnity for wrong done to French chapels from the refractory Taotai at Kiukiang, and the Viceroy at Wuchang to exercise strict justice in respect of the oppressed Catholic communities of Szechuen; above all, the care he took to secure that the redress promised was actually carried into effect, had a repressive influence which can only be estimated by comparing the events of Nanking, and other places on the Yangtse, this year with those which have recently happened at Tientsin.

But among the retributive measures which Rochechouart enforced during his visit to the Yangtse was the degradation of an officer who was proved to have been an active instigator of the wrongs done to the French Missionaries, their converts and property. Probably the Count did not know how thoroughly he had earned his punishment. For that officer was Cheng-Kwo Shwai, a short account of whose antecedents, character, influence, and connection with the recent and existing troubles at Tientsin and Peking, will be found in Nos. 40,2,4, 11,12,54 of the accompanying Documents. From these it will be seen that his life has been devoted, with all the energy of a fearless and enthusiastic temperament, with all the stern fixity of purpose to be deirved from an inherited vow, to the expulsion of foreigners from China. His degradation by Rochechouart lashed his ruling passion into ungovernable fury, the more intense because

it now became concentrated against the French. And this concentration, too, assisted him in giving it expression in action; for it would be easier to induce the Chinese to attack one foreign power than all combined, and the more definite the object of attack, the more exactly could he fit his machinery to the work to be done.

The circumstances of the case were not unfavorable. Burlingame was dead, and his death must have weakened the honestly pro-foreign party of Chinese politicians (if there were any such), who hoped, through him, to introduce foreign improvements with a gradualness which would obviate social convulsions. His death, too, made it unnecessary if not impossible for the anti-foreign party to wear any longer the mask which the maintenance of his mission involved. England and America had shown how strongly disinclined they were to mingle unnecessarily in the wars of China. Political and religious differences seemed likely to prevent any cordial co-operation between Russia and France. Germany has never had occasion to impress China with any idea of her power. France was isolated. Her military prestige had suffered a serious blow in the eyes of the Chinese by her expedition to the Corea. She alone had failed to give the Chinese Embassy any assurances of co-operation and had in consequence got something like a menace from Burlingame; a fact of which the Chinese have doubtless been made aware. The political training, experience, and associates of Cheng-Kwo-Shwai warrant us in believing that he was fully able to appreciate these various aspects of the position of France in reference to China. But there were other aspects of the actual position of the great bulk of French subjects in China, the value of which as a basis for inaugurating a national attack against them, this practised agitator has, by his subsequent conduct, only too clearly shown how thoroughly he understood. These aspects may be regarded as fourfold:—

1. The judicial and administrative system of China is so corrupt that the western nations, in making treaties with her, could not consent, as they do among themselves, that their subjects, when residing in China, should be judged by Chinese law, administered by Chinese judges. They, therefore, availed themselves of the international expedient of extra-territorial jurisdiction, according to which foreigners in China committing wrong are amenable only to officers of their own several nationalities. France claims to protect all ecclesiastical persons of the Roman Catholic Church as her nationals. Wherever, therefore, a Catholic priest is found in China, he is independent of the local authorities. This makes him a person of considerable importance. Foreign treaties also guarantee that no Chinese subject shall be molested by the Chinese magistrates for becoming a Christian, and it naturally falls to the foreign priest to see that his converts have the full benefit of this proviso: and this priest having direct access, through the French Minister at Peking, to the central government, the provincial magistrates dare not openly set his interference at naught. When to these considerations is added that reverence which the converts would naturally feel for their religious instructor, it can be readily understood how willingly, in all their difficulties and disputes, they would have resource to the house of the priest rather than to eht yamen of the mandarin, especially when, instead of the oppressive exactions of the latter (which make a Chinaman fear a magistrate almost as much as a robber), they found that their disputes were settled, and their wrongs redressed with disinterested justice and without expense. But it will also be easily understood how such a desertion of the yamens would move the bitter jealousy and hostility of the mandarins, and how eagerly they would endeavour to decry those who were not going beyond the plain duty of Christian priests, as the meddling partisans of a grasping foreign power.

2. One of the most beneficent and persuasive means by which foreign missionaries have sought to commend Christianity to the acceptance of the Chinese has been by dispensing among them the benefits of western medical science. But in the Chinese pharmacopœia, parts of the human body are largely made use of as ingredients, and the more mysterious or vital the organ so made use of, the more does the drug compounded from it seem to be regarded as efficacious to secure the object for which it is used; and Chinese medical knowledge being much in the same state as it was among western nations two or three hundred years ago, it deals largely in charms, philtres, potions, spells, and other magical absurdities. It may be doubted whether the horrible substances referred to are

actually used, but it is an undoubted fact that Chinese books say so, and that the Chinese believe they are so used. It thus becomes easy to understand how simple a task it must be to persuade an ignorant and prejudiced people that foreign doctors made use of similar drugs for similar purposes—all the more so because they are known to practice anatomy and surgery, which are abhorrent to the Chinese mind.

3. Kidnapping of children has from the earliest historic times been prevalent in China; and the various Foreign and Mixed Courts established in China have made it indisputable that the practice is still of daily occurrence. Female children so kidnapped are sold to brothels which in, fact, are mostly replenished from this source, while male children are sold as slaves or are bought for adoption by childless persons. Now the Catholic Missionaries have always devoted special attention to the young in China; their peculiar view of the efficacy of infant baptism, their sagacious appreciation of the ultimate influence of educating the young, and the large number of children (especially females) exposed in China by poor parents, all combined to give this direction to their efforts. For the reception of these children they have erected capacious Orphanages and Industrial schools in many parts of China. It is not difficult to see how among a people to whom kidnapping is familiar and who are prejudiced against foreigners, the sight of large numbers of children collected by foreigners in their establishments, could be easily made the ground of a charge that they were gathered together by nefarious means and for unholy purposes.

4. The whole life and object of a religious missionary cannot fail to be utterly incomprehensible to a people whose entire range of ideas is to a marked degree, of a secular and materialistic type. And in the case of the Catholic missionaries this mystery is intensified by the air of solemnity and secresy which their impressive style of worship, and such religious exercises as Confession, throw over their whole procedure. This remark applies with special force to their Seminaries, where a considerable degree of seclusion is almost unavoidable.

Those who have read the account of the Szechuen troubles published in the *North China Daily News* of December 1869. and who will read Document No. 52 of the present series, will observe what an effective use has been made of the first of the four aspects of Catholic missionary operations above enumerated, in fanning into a flame the anti-foreign spirit of China. But it was by a most skillful and masterly combination of the last three aspects that Cheng-Kwo-Shwai succeeded, during the past summer, in stirring up an intense anti-foreign and especially anti-French excitement along the whole lower valley of the Yangtse, from the heart of Szechuen and Hunan to the Yellow Sea; an excitement which first assumed a threatening form around and in Nanking, but being there repressed, was raised to the point of explosion by the arch-agitator on his way northwards through Shantung and Chihli, till, a few days after his arrival, and under his personal leadership, it found a first, and fitting, but let us also hope a final culmination in the Tientsin massacre of the 21st of June.

All the offended pride and disappointed selfishness and awakened jealousies of the officials; all the fears of a superstitious people, and the deepest seated and most universal of human instincts were appealed to against foreigners, but more especialy against those whose plan of working seemed most liable to suspicion. The appeal was made by means of those way-side placards which in China form a miserable substitute for the newspaper press of western nations, and combine in a wonderful degree the minimum of its benefits with the maximum of its abuses. These, diffused with organized diligence and universality, from the frontiers of Kweichow to beyond Peking, told the masses of China that foreign missionaries abetted and subsidized a system of kidnapping throughout the empire; that by means of devilish medicines supplied to abandoned wretches, they exercised such a magical influence over children that they willingly followed them, though utter strangers; that by these scoundrels they were handed over to the missionaries, who collected them in their establishments and slaughtered them in secret, for the purpose of using their eyes and hearts and private parts for the manufacture of their abominable drugs.

Great as was the popular excitement produced by such foul calumnies, it was fomented and legitimised by the timidity or stupidity of some mandarins, and

the guilty complicity of others, from the Viceroy downwards to common village magistrates. For the officials everywhere issued proclamations announcing that the kidnappers were abroad, offering rewards for their detection, and insinuating more or less distinctly that they were the paid emissaries of foreigners. The popular fury thus called forth demanded some victims, and these a cowardly, timeserving magistracy were bound to find. The result was that at Nanking no less than eighteen alleged kidnappers were beheaded in one day. On what kind of evidence these men were condemned may be guessed from what is said of the two executed by the Chih-fu of Tientsin (Doct. 10) in whose case even the Literati felt called on to protest against the irregularity of the proceedings. Such executions rather excited then satisfied the popular thirst for vengeance, and they were easily excited by the secret instigators and directors of the movement to invoke vengeance on the more guilty heads of the alleged paymasters of the kidnappers. The result may be seen in the "Nanking Tumults" described in Document No. 1.

But the Catholic clergy made an appeal to Ma, the Viceroy, too direct and explicit to enable him to shirk the subsequent responsibility if mischief befall them. Besides he could not so soon forget the severe lessons taught him by Medhurst, in the end of 1868, and by Rochechouart at the end of 1869. He was forced to take energetic steps; and as surely as he did so, the tumult was effectually quelled. The arch agitator Cheng-Kwo-Shwai meanwhile, without awaiting results in the valley of the Yangtse, proceeded to fire his train, already laid, in some place where favourable influences might develope it into an effectual conflagration. From his residence at Yangchow, whence, as from a centre, he had for years spread out in all directions the network of his machinations, he directed his course to the metropolitan province of Chihli. Various considerations may have determined this destination. It is the centre of official interest and cabal; it is under the government of his powerful friend Tseng-Kwo-fan, reputed head of the anti-foreign party in China. At Tienstin is the grave of his great foster-father Sanko-lin Sin, a visit to whose tomb formed a specious pretext for his journey. With Taku forts greatly strengthened from what they were in 1860, and wanting only men, according to Chinese notions, to make them impregnable; with a large force of foreign drilled troops, and a foreign arsenal and powderder mill close at hand; with large establishments of the hated Catholics both at Tientsin and Peking, and doubtless also with the knowledge that under such a Governo-General the local magistrates would be willing tools for this work, we cannot wonder that Cheng-Kwo-shwai directed his journey northwards.

He had indeed prepared his way beforehand. The accompanying documents (No. 10 and 14) show how a month before his arrival the cry of kidnappers had arisen; how the Chih-fu had executed his victims, issued his incendiary proclamation, and received the complimentary umbrella and tablets from the grateful abettors of the anti-foreign system; and how, all over the country, between Tientsin and Yangchow, as far as foreign observation reached, (nearly 200 miles), the country was filled with announcements of the impending doom of the foreigners, and more particularly of the French at Tientsin.

It should be noticed that while the general substance of the placards was everywhere the same, they were skilfully varied to hit the peculiarities of different localities. At Nankin attention was called to the size of the vaults beneath the Catholic premises, and the underbuilding which was really intended to afford healthful drainage and ventilation was alleged to be devoted to the most fiendish purposes. At Tientsin the same skill in giving intensity to the general charges by calling in the aid of local purposes was shown by the use that was made of the transference of some coffins from an old burying ground to the cemetery surrounding the French cathedral. We are sorry that our having failed to obtain any authenticated copy of the placards diffused by Cheng-kwo-shwai along his journey northward prevents us from saying positively whether the same adaptation to local peculiarities was observed in all his incendiary effusions. What we do know is that the popular excitement which marked his progress indicated his route as by a streak of fire.

The fact of his presence in the north was not known to foreigners till after the catastrophe of the 21st June, but foreigners now remember well how about the 18th June the evidences of hostility towards foreigners

acquired a marked virulence, so much so that on that day Mr. Lay, the British Consul, felt called on to bring the threatening aspect of affairs under the notice of Chung-How, who, as superintendent of the Northern Ports, has, nominally at least, almost absolute control over Tientsin and its neighborhood. But with an indifference which is equally inexcusable and suspicious his Excellency paid no attention to Mr. Lay's thrice-repeated representations, the last made only an hour or two before the organised band of the fire guilds, headed by their well-known registered officials, and assisted by many regular Chinese troops, (and in one part of their deadly work led on by the notorious Cheng-Kwo-shwai) rose in thousands against the French Cathedral and Consulate, and murdered their inmates, then murdered the French Consul and his Chancellor on their way back from Chung-How's Yamen, where they had in vain sought assistance and protection; seized and insulted, tortured, killed and burnt into charred masses the Sisters of Charity—revered and loved by men of all nations and creeds; killed, in short, in a most barbarous way every French subject they could lay hands on, and were only prevented from extending their onslaught to all foreigners by the hope held out to them of more perfect vengeance on an early day. Full and dreadful particulars of the events of that and subsequent days will be found in Documents Nos. 2 to 4, 10, 11, 14 and 31, For the varied and cumulative evidence of the organised nature of this attack we refer our readers to Nos. 10, 14, 28 and 40. The amount of reparation proposed by the Chinese will be found in Nos. 2, 4, 31. The behaviour of the various foreign representatives and the ideas of punishment and reparation suggested by them will be learned from documents Nos. 9, 21, 34, 37 and 60. Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, 25, 26. 27, 46, and 51 contain various proclamations by native officials which throw much light on their way of looking at the matter; and are specially remarkable as containing not one word of pity for the victims, or of indignation against the murderers. In Nos. 57, and 62, will be found a deeply interesting account of the final burial of all the bodies that have been recovered. The condition in which a nunber of native Christians, imprisoned by the Chih-hsien but sent back on Count Rochechauart's demand, were found, is given in dreadful detail in No. 41. The sympathy with the French awakened among all nationalities and creeds, the alarm excited in the various treaty ports, the measures adopted to repel attacks, and the universal conviction that unless rigorous justice is executed in the punishment of the murderers, foreign life will no longer be safe in China, will be found illustrated by various documents.

THE NANKIN TUMULT.

The disturbance at Nankin threatens to be one of the most serious that has yet occurred in connection with the residence of foreigners in the interior. As yet the history of the movement is not accurately known, for the excitement prevailing in the city prevents the transmission of authentic information. But the general character of the tumult is tolerably well understood. A cry is set up that certain infamous people are engaged in kidnapping children, not an uncommon practice, and therefore, not at all incredible. Such rumours are born and die a hundred times without exciting public attention, and so it might have happened in the present case, but for what appears to have been the indiscreet conduct of the city authorities at Nankin. Instead of ignoring the foolish rumour, or issuing proclamations forbidding its spread, the civic dignitaries seem to have entered most fully into the spirit of it. They might, indeed, for some occult purpose have been feigning alarm, while they worked on the popular frenzy; or they might have been sincerely overcome by the panic of the moment; but the action they took was of all things the most calculated to fan the smoking fire into a flame. Proclamations were issued offering rewards of 100 dollars for the apprehension of the kidnappers. By this means of course all lingering doubts were dispelled; and the populace thus forcibly convinced of the reality of the alleged crimes, became excited to an extraordinary degree. The authorities appear to have lost their heads, and in their attempts to allay the tumult which they had done so much to create, they only made matters worse and worse. People were arrested in the streets on suspicion, and no stranger could safely shew himself in public for fear of being immediately thrown into prison. When the affair had grown to this extent it began to take on a new phase, and the cry spread like wild-fire, that the foreigners were the culprits for whom the people were in search. It would only be a conjecture to say that in this, as in all other similar cases, it was the Mandarins and literati who gave this particular direction to the popular clamour, but if they did, they soon found that they had raised a spirit which they could not control. The only foreigners in Nankin are French and English Missionaries; and they were immediately besieged by the howling mob, and menaced in person and property. Mr. Hudson Taylor, late of Yangchow, mindful of the retreating attitude of the British government, and of the distinct advice of Lord Clarendon to run away from danger; conscious also, no doubt, that if he by remaining in Nankin became the hero of another disturbance, he might not only become a martyr, but be afterwards held up to the execration of the English public by the *Times* and its following, ordered his party away from the city. The French missionaries and their congregations were thus left to bear the whole brunt of the storm. Their houses were carefully searched by the Mandarins, and no limbs of kidnapped bodies were found lying about the neat little whitewashed rooms of the missionaries or their neophytes. But it appeared as if all attempts to satisfy the mob only goaded them to further excesses; and the Mandarins now found it necessary to put their prisoners to the torture in order to get confessions out of them. Under this cruel process a number of them actually confessed to having kidnapped children at the instigation of foreigners. These poor wretches were beheaded for the gratification of the mob,—some accounts say to the number of seventeen,—and among them at least one Christian. Everything having been thus done, wittingly or unwittingly, to stimulate the popular hostility to foreigners, the last accounts that have reached us from the city are to the effect that the French missionaries are in hourly expectation of being attacked and pillaged, if not killed. It is needless to say that this is not a contingency which the Authorities contemplate with satisfaction. With Yangchow, Nankin, and Nanchang so fresh in his memory, the Vice-roy is not likely to provoke another quarrel with foreigners; and he has accordingly issued proclamations defending the foreigners from the absurd allegations that have been worked up against them. This tardy measure of the Vice-roy's seems however to be as yet without effect.

The peculiarity of the present excitement is, that it has spread into every part of the province, and may produce a dangerous outbreak at any point. Yangchow, Chinkiang, and Tang-yang, and doubtless other cities from which we have no exact information, are in a ferment; vague but horrible suspicions about foreigners have taken possession of the minds of the ignorant people everywhere, and as a story does not lose in the telling, even the monstrous accusations of Nankin are probably found in the distant cities.

This unfortunate affair will probably be used in argument by those who maintain that there is a danger to the public peace in admitting foreigners into the interior of China; for here, it will be said, the demonstration is entirely spontaneous on the part of the people and the authorities have been powerless to keep down the excitement. The latter has undoubtedly been shewn to be true, but it still remains to be proved that the authorities had no share in instigating the affair, or, at all events, in directing it against the foreigners. It may be said also that merchants would never be likely to attract the hostility of a Chinese mob, at least not for any such chimera as has moved the populace of Nankin, for a merchant's motives are perfectly intelligible to the

Chinese. It is different with a missionary. He is an utterly incomprehensible man to the Chinese; his motives are to them unfathomable, and there is, consequently, nothing too extravagant for them to believe about him. One of his objects is to collect children about him and teach them gratuitously, if he does not even pay them for coming to him. Why an intelligent man should forsake his country, and his kindred, and travel over sea and land to do that, will perhaps always remain a puzzle to the Chinese. Nor is it to be much wondered at, that when questions of kidnapping children crop up, the well-known habits of the missionary should expose him to the most absurd suspicions. Were the missionaries known to levy black-mail on the Chinese, they would probably inspire more confidence, by supplying the natives with a rational theory of their existence.

THE TIENTSIN MASSACRE.

(From our Correspondent.)

TIENTSIN, 22ND TO 27TH JUNE, 1870.

THE account given in the *Evening Courier* of June 16th, of proceedings at Nankin, would be an accurate description of the preliminary part of our troubles here connected with missionary matters; the same story of kidnapping children, of the missionaries purchasing them and taking out their eyes for medicine &c., the same knowledge of the authorities of what was going on, the same (apparent) indifference on their part to the probable consequences, were conspicuously displayed here some time before the massacre. Threatenings of this kind had become so frequent that to a certain extent, they came to be treated like the cry of Wolf! Wolf! in the fable, so that when the sad reality did come, no one was prepared. The first intimation we had of trouble to our friends in the city was the sight of fire, which proved to be caused by the burning of the French Cathedral and Consulate adjoining, and the premises of the Sisters of Mercy some half-mile nearer the foreign Settlement. Almost immediately after, news reached us of the murder of three foreigners; and, a little later, we heard of the terrible deaths of no less than fifteen to eighteen foreigners, all of whom were French, and including the Consul, Fontanier; M. and Madame Thomassin who had only arrived a day or two before *en route* for Peking; the Chancelier, M. Simon; a Jesuit father M. Chevrier, and, saddest of all, the poor Sisters of Mercy, nine in number. To them indeed no mercy was shown: the cruel outrages upon them are horrible even to relate; their clothes are said to have been torn off them, their bodies stabbed and ripped open, their breasts cut off, and their eyes dug out. To crown all, the Chinese report this morning that all that is left of them are two charred masses, some distance apart, and quite impossible to be recognised. Truly a crown of martyrdom have they received from the ungrateful people in whose service, and for whose welfare, their lives were being spent here. M. and Madame Chalmaison, French, are also said to have been killed while attempting to reach the foreign Settlement. Three Russian subjects, Mr. and Mrs. Protopopoff and Mr. Basoff met with the same fate on the other side of the river close to the Salt Stacks which are near the foreign Settlement. The above took place about 2 o'clock on the afternoon of the 21st. To show that the attack was premeditated and threatened, I may mention that my workmen two miles or more from the scene of action said to me on seeing the fire, that Englishmen had nothing to fear for the attack was only on the French. Whether the Chinese apprehended immediate retribution or not I cannot say, but hardly a man was to be seen in the Settlement after the first fire took place; on the following day labour was partially resumed.

22nd. To-day H. E. Chung-How met the Consuls at the house of the Commissioner of Customs. He seemed bewildered, and intimated that the day's work had made him a poor man, and that he would now be responsible for the lives of foreigners; at the same time he offered to send down a guard of six hundred soldiers. But the British Consul strongly objected to any such step, while another gentleman, a Consul for more than one Treaty power, and at the same time occupying the anomalous position of paid servant of His said Excellency, was for leaving everything *as in duty bound* to His Excellency! The foreign residents from the first took steps to protect themselves, and during the last two nights have kept watch and guard. The *Manchu* was fortunately here, and by the kindness of her Agent and Captain, was a refuge for all who might require it, and is to remain here until another steamer of the same company arrives. The *Appin* also arrived here to-day; so that if an attack on the Settlement takes place the two steamers could protect all foreigners. The *Dragon* left Taku on the morning of the 22nd with the *Racer*, a dismasted vessel, in tow and with news of the attack here which overtook her at Taku, and with a request from the British Consul for the *Opossum* gunboat to come on here from Che-foo.

This morning early, three foreigners Mr. Cox, British, and Messrs. Cordes and Perizot North-German subjects, came down to the settlement from the city. This morning also a Chinaman was found in the steeple or tower of the Protestant Church built on Mission ground, close to the settlement, with balls of combustible materials for the apparent purpose of firing the church. During the day a Chinaman in

the settlement was found with a revolver up his sleeve, who finding he was being caught, succeeded in throwing the weapon into the river. Both these Chinese have been handed over to the native authorities.

23rd.—This morning there was found in the river, quite fresh, the bodies of the two Russians before named, man and wife, whose wedding had been celebrated less than a week ago amid great rejoicings. The bodies were stripped, and the young wife, only about 16, had her arm broken and cuts on face and body, and three fingers cut off apparently for the sake of the rings. The freshness of these bodies is supposed to be due to their contact with the salt-stacks where they were killed. They had only been a short time in the water. Another body found at the same time could not be recognised and is believed to be Chinese. Since then a fourth body found in the water horribly cut about the head and face, and with part of one hand cut off, was recognised by two French subjects, Messrs. Borel (2) and Courtaix, who have made their escape from the city, as being the body of the French Consul, M. Fontunier; his socks also bore the initials H. F. This body was also stripped; at the time he met his death he wore the Consular uniform. Yesterday H. E. Chung-How said the Consul's body was one of seven taken out of the water and put in coffins. These bodies are to be kept until the arrival of the French authorities from Peking, expected here to-day or to-morrow. Mr. and Mrs Stamman, and Mr. Meyer, came down to the settlement this morning under an escort from Chung-How; they are believed to be the sole survivors of the foreigners who were in the city; twenty or twenty-one are dead or missing, and of these, twelve are women, nine sisters, Mrs. Thomasin, Mrs. Chalmaison, French, and Mrs. Protopopoff, Russian.

It appears the French Consul on the attack being made had gone to Chung-How's Yamên, and had induced Chung-How to accompany him to the Consulate. On their way thither they met the Che-hsien, and Chung-How's story is that the Consul fired at the Che-hsien, whereupon the mob rose and cut him down, killing him on the spot. Mr. and Mrs. Thomasin were killed inside the Consulate. Mrs. Chalmaison got on her horse and escaped, her husband being killed in his door-way as he was coming out. Mrs. Chalmaisson returned to the house in the evening in Chinese dress, but it seems the omission to change her foreign boots led to her detection, and she was slaughtered in the street.

Full particulars of these transactions may never be known, but already a good deal of light is thrown on the affair from various quarters. We hear from a distance in the country of ten days' journey that proclamations were up against Catholics on account of their malpractices; but as the people could not discriminate between Catholic and Protestant they were advised to take them all to the Yamên for examination.

One of Tsêng-Kwo-Fan's lieutenants is now here with an escort of 80 to 100 troops; with no ostensible object. It is somewhat curious that when Tsêng-kwo-fan himself was down here last year one of the reasons given for his visit was his intention to seize the French Consulate it being Imperial property; and it is also noteworthy that when some of us in 1861 endeavoured to purchase this same property we were told it could not be sold as it belonged to the Emperor.

24th.—The two Russian bodies were buried in the British cemetery yesterday afternoon, and shortly after, the body of the third Russian was found in the river, and was buried this morning. Yesterday the Chinese authorities sent down to the British Consulate five coffins containing bodies which were recognised as those of Mr. and Mrs. Thomasin of the French legation, M. Simon of the Consulate; Father Chevrier and a Chinese priest. M. Simon was so hacked as to be hardly recognisible. Mrs. Thomassin was cut in the back of the neck. She had her clothes on. These bodies with the French Consul's, six in number, have all been placed to-day in the British cemetery pending instruction from the French authorities, as it was impossible to keep them above ground any longer.

Reports this evening are to the effect that Tsêng-kwo-fan is now on his way down here with 5,000 troops to investigate into this sad affair. Despatches from the North-German Consul for Peking had been stopped and returned to the Consul, his courier had been taken to the Magistrates in the city and bambooed; but a despatch from the British Consul to the Minister had reached Peking, and an answer from Mr. Adkins received here last night. At the same time came letters from the French Minister asking for further particulars, having heard of the death of the Consul and others. All was quiet in Peking. The attempt of the authorities to interrupt communication between officials at Peking and Tient-in is however a suspicious circumstance.

On the 24th the body of a Chinese woman was found in the river; by the ornaments about her neck she was a Catholic, and believed to have been a teacher in the Sisters' school. She was much cut and disfigured; the body was buried with the other six.

26th—This morning six coffins were sent down from the city, the contents of which on examination proved to be, the bodies of Mr. and Mrs Chalmaison; of the remaining four, two contained bodies half burnt, one of which had evidently been in the water and had apparently been partially eaten; second was in much the same horrible state; the remaining two were burnt to a cinder; in one, only the

scull and a few bones remained. I forced myself to look upon these six and hope I may never see such another sight. Whether the four were the remains of Sisters or of Chinese it is impossible to say. The six coffins were placed side by side with the other seven, one large mound covering the whole thirteen coffins. The Chinese who brought them said the four were Sisters; they lay close to the gates, first one then two, then one; there were also Chinese bodies there which they had instructions not to touch; but there were no other foreign bodies there.

27th.—Word has been sent down to the effect that no more foreign bodies are to be found; thus five Sisters are still missing, allowing the four coffins sent to have contained the remains of four of them.

A gentleman who has seen the whole of the bodies has kindly given me the following account of their condition.

"M. H. Fontanier.—Head and face cloven to pieces with sword cuts. One spear wound through the chest.

M. Simon.—Head and face covered with sword cuts; body covered with numerous wounds; bowels protruding.

M. Thomassin.—Head and face covered with sword cuts; a few spear wounds on the body.

Madame Thomassin.—A sword cut through the back of neck.

M. de Chalmaison.—Left side of the face cut away; eyes scooped out; numerous wounds in the body and extremities.

Madame de Chalmaison.—A deep sword cut across the face, just below the eyes; left arm and side hacked with sword cuts.

Father Chèvrier.—Scull cloven in several places; chest and abdomen laid open; bowels protruding.

The coffins supposed to contain four of the Sisters were filled with charred pieces of flesh and bone.

Mr. Protopopoff, Russian.—Sword cut 5 inches long on the left side of head; a spear wound through the chest, and one on the left hip.

Mrs. Protopopoff,—Body literally covered with sword cuts and spear wounds.

Mr. Basaff, Russian.—Head covered with sword cuts, chest pierced with numerous spear wounds.

Most of the bodies were in an advanced stage of decomposition, having been probably a good deal exposed to the sun on the banks of the river. They were all more or less naked, except Mr. Thomassin and wife.

It is reported that 180 children were brought to the Yamên the day of the massacre; 30 children were found smothered in vaults, supposed to be those either of the church, or European Hospital. I consider that between 50 and 60 people must have perished in the Sisters' places alone."

As a proof that the Chinese generally knew of the intended attack, it may be mentioned that for several days previously parents had been coming by day and night to take away their children from the schools so that out of about 450, only about 200 remained on the day of the fire. The 30 who were found smothered must have run into the vaults on the first alarm being given. The shop-keepers about the Sisters' place also had for some days been removing from their shops, The Chefoo, or head city magistrate, had posted a proclamation similar to those at Chinkiang, and tending to excite the people against the foreigners. H. B. M's Consul called the attention of Chung How to this proclamation on the 18th, three clear days before the out break, requesting him to pacify the people as the Chefoo's proceedings were creating great disturbance in the city On the 20th he again wrote to Chung How, and for the third time, on the morning of the 21st, the Consul addressed an urgent despatch to Chung How, but received no reply to any of his communications.

I have noticed Chung How's statement to the effect that he accompanied M Fontanier on his way back to the Consulate. At the meeting of the Consuls he stated that M. Fontanier had twice fired on him. Another Mandarin told a foreign resident here that he was one of two who were deputed by Chung How to accompany M. Fontanier to the Consulate, that on the way M. Fontanier said he did not want them, but 200 soldiers to drive away the mob. A disturbance here arose close to the Catheidral and Fontanier and Simon were both killed. The story of Fontanier firing on Chung How looks extremely like a fabrication of the last named "excellent" gentleman.

There can be no doubt at all about the connivance of the authorities at this dreadful massacre, for even if it did not originate with them, it was perfectly within their power to put down all display of bad feeling when they were first requested to do so. They did not choose to move a finger in this direction, but treated the urgent appeals of the British Consul with supercilious contempt. No sooner, however, had the atrocious deed been perpetrated than the authorities began to awake to a sense of what they had done, and to dread the consequences. This was first shewn when they sent down the five coffins containing bodies, and with them three empty coffins. The Mandarin who brought them requested from the British Consul a receipt for six bodies, naming the Consul's as one of them. Again on the following day Chung-How sent a special messenger to request a receipt for the six bodies, also mentioning the Consul's as being one of them, the request being of course still refused. Once more the demand was made, and

the Mandarin on this occasion received for answer that the body of the Consul which he professed to have brought, had actually been picked up in the river on the previous evening; that it had been recognised by several of the deceased's friends, as well as identified by the initials "H.F." on the socks. The Mandarin feebly attempted to maintain that the Consul's body was nevertheless one of the five which he had brought, and for which he was ordered to bring back a receipt to Chung-How. It must be remembered that Chung-How had said the Consul was killed by his side, and that he had the body in his keeping. There was indeed one gentleman who was quite unable to recognise the body of poor M. Fontanier, and he was a brother Consul too. Perhaps he saw with Chinese eyes, and believed against the evidence of his senses that the murdered Consul "might have been" in one of the coffins. Fortunately all foreigners who happen to be in Chinese employ are not so easily converted to the Chinese mode of viewing things.

The Chinese authorities, cowardly as they are cruel, have betrayed abject fear of the consequences of what they have done, in many ways since the dreadful occurrence took place. They have requested the French Minister at Peking to name his own terms for compensation. They have asked the Russian friends of the deceased here to name their compensation, but were properly answered that they would know that from the Russian authorities. At Taku they had couriers waiting, and two hours before the arrival of the *Opossum* gun-boat on the 26th, H. M. Consul had a letter requesting him not to allow the gun-boat to fire upon the City. To-day again (27th) H. E. has asked the British Consul to apply for the acting appointment of French Consul, when they two could settle all matters between them. Altogether it seems as if the native authorities had taken leave of of their senses.

While deploring this melancholy occurrence I cannot help thinking that it will result in good to China as well as to foreigners, and that the poor Sisters' death will bring forth more fruit than they were permitted in their life time to see. The French nation cannot permit this deadly insult to pass unpunished, —members of the embassy, of the Consulate, and of the priesthood,—men and women—cruelly and treacherously murdered. Were they indeed to permit this crime to pass unpunished, no foreigner could with safety remain in China.

The Chinese are, naturally, endeavouring to conciliate the other Treaty-powers,—it is to be hoped without effect; united they are as a bundle of sticks, strong, while individually they may easily disposed of.

I understand 8 Protestant Chapels, in and about the city are looted, 16 places of worship in all are said to have been destroyed. Many Catholic Christians are said to be murdered and thrown into the river; we have seen a good many bodies floating down with the tide. No Protestant converts have been killed, so far as is known, but they have been beaten, and their houses pillaged, the Chinese afterwards offering to sell them the property they had stolen. There are any number of guilds here, banded together for mischief, and the Fire Brigade are the parties who are said to have had the management of setting the buildings on fire having the mob perfectly under control, calling them away when all was finished by the sound of the bell. More than one foreigner heard this. The soldiers were present at the fires, and are said to have aided in the mischief, at least no one reports their having interfered in any way to prevent it. Now we hear that the city mob are turning against Chung How, denouncing him as a friend to foreigners. His excellency is evidently a weak-minded man, better adapted for peace than war. He has been believed to be well-disposed to foreigners, though he has never shown it on any important occasion.

To-night a meeting has been held and a defence committee resolved upon, Mr. Hannen, Dr. Fraser, and Mr. Hanna being members. The city is not yet quite quiet.

PROCLAMATION BY CHUNG HOW.

June 22nd, 1870.

A memorial has been presented to the Throne by me, relating all the facts of the late strife stirred up by you people with the French missionaries and I am awaiting the Imperal edict in answer. Whereas ever since Tientsin was opened as a port, all classes of natives and foreigners have always maintained friendship, it is incumbent on you to continue these peaceable relations with the foreigners who are living here. No disturbance can be permitted, and I have given orders to the Civil and Military authorities to apprehend and severely punish any persons who are found abusing or contending with foreigners in the streets or markets.

This proclamation is further issued to enjoin all classes to follow their peaceable callings. Arrest and execution will inevitably follow any attempt at a popular outbreak.

No consideration will be entertained. Let none disregard this special notice.

PROCLAMATION BY THE TIENTSIN CHIH-HSIEN

June, 23rd 1870.

The Chih-Hsien has received the following despatch from the Commissioner of Trade (Chung How):—

"I have already issued a notice on the subject of the massacre of the missionaries and the burning of their churches, perpetrated by the mob on the 21st, in which the people were warned that immediate arrest and execution would overtake all who again attempted in their ignorance and stupidity to molest or loot any of the foreign hongs. We must

now redouble our efforts to protect the consuls and all other foreigners in the various hongs in order to preserve amicable relations. I have therefore to direct the Chih-Hsien to exercise his personal surveillance in protecting the foreign hongs, the Customs, and the Consulates in and about the *Tze-Chu-Lin* Settlement.

If any malignant ruffians dare continue these disturbances the Chih-Hsien will immediately arrest and execute them without the least mercy, and he shall be answerable for any disturbances that may further take place through the laxity of his discipline."

Having received this despatch the Chih-Hsien sent out the police with orders to maintain an unflagging vigilance and as in duty bound he issues this notice calling upon all classes to follow their proper duties. And they are hereby warned that if any foolish mob again attempts to molest a foreign hong immediate arrest and execution will be incurred.

The Chih Hsien will not shew the least relaxation in carrying out these instructions.

Beware of this special warning.

The following Imperial Edict has been issued from the Grand Secretariat.

June, 25th 1870.

A memorial has been received from Chung-How announcing that a quarrel had arisen between the people of Tientsin and the missionaries, resulting in a fight; for the occurrence of which he begged that he might receive his own punishment, and, at the same time, that the local authorities under him might be severally cashiered after a close enquiry into their conduct. This affair arose on the one hand through the Tientsin people suspiciously connecting the missionaries with the mysterious kidnapping of children which was being carried on by certain rogues, and their suspicions grew into hostility—on the other hand the French Consul Mons. Fontanier enraged the populace by firing shots within Chung-How's Yamên as well as at the Chie-Hsien, and this brought on the emeute and his death, as also the burning and destruction of the Churches.

Now, as Chung-How in his administration failed to preserve the public peace, and the Tientsin Taotai Chow Chih Hsün, with whom lies the responsibility of enforcing general good behaviour, was yet unable to anticipate and prevent the disturbance, and theChih-Fu, Chang-Kwang-Tsao, as well as the Chih-Hsien, Lin Chieh, managed so badly as to allow the matter to ferment into so serious an affair, all these officers have committed an error which they cannot throw off. Let the Li Pu accordingly consider their faults, and assign their punishment severally. And Tséng-Kwo-Fan is hereby ordered to proceed to Tientsin and hold an investigation on their conduct whereon to rest the accusation. He will arrest the kidnappers and the ringleaders of the disturbance, and will also in conjunction with Chung How institute a most searching and impartial enquiry and settle matters.

PROCLAMATION BY CHUNG HOW.

25th June, 1870.

Whereas on the 24th instant, I received an Imperial Edict decreeing that *Tséng-Kwo-Fan* was to come to Tientsin and act with me in investigating the occurrences connected with the destruction of the Roman Catholic Mission, availing ourselves for the purpose of the General, the Taotai, and all the civil and military officers of the district.

I hereby give notice that the Roman Catholic and Protestant Missionaries have the Imperial sanction, expressed in the Foreign Treaties, to their preaching their doctrines. And you should all know and recognise the fact. If any again dare to molest the Missionaries and fabricate stories to disturb the peace, they shall be rigorously apprehended and beheaded.

If you meet any foreigners in the street, either of the official or mercantile classes, or any native servants of theirs carrying letters, you will not be permitted to offer any hindrance whatever to their passage to and fro. If you dare to disobey this wilfully, you will be very severely dealt with, and that without any extenuation.

A SPECIAL NOTICE.

It is asserted at Peking that some of the English speaking Legations have already exculpated Chung-how from participation in the Tientsin massacre. But we must refuse without further confirmation to give credence to such a rumour. It would be premature to come to any conclusion on the subject until the case is thoroughly investigated; and none of the Foreign Ministers at Peking would be likely to be guilty of the indiscretion of prejudging a grave question like the present in the absence of the proofs which the aggrieved parties may be prepared to bring forward. All the facts of the case as far as they are yet known tend with cumulative force to compromise the character of the local authorities, and further circumstantial evidence of their complicity will no doubt be forthcoming from day to day. It would be both illogical and unjust under such circumstances for any of the Foreign Representatives at Peking to accept the ready explanations which the Tsung Li Yamen will doubtless offer them, and we should hardly think they would either be so impolitic or imprudent as to give an expression of opinion on the subject.

TIENTSIN.

From our Correspondent.

Tientsin, 30th June, 1870.

There are two of the Tientsin Protestant Missionaries at present at stations in Shantung. One of them was heard from to-day, all well. With reference to the news of the attack here on the 21st he mentioned that one of their preachers who had been within 170 li of Tsi-nan-foo on the 22nd, then and there heard that it was intended to attack foreigners on the 21st at Tientsin, and that there was to be a second attack on foreigners on the 24th. This shews how widely spread the rumour was, and how long a time before the event the attack was expected.

From the depositions of trustworthy Chinese, members of Protestant churches here, it would seem that the troubles began fully a month before the outbreak, about the beginning of the 5th month; when the interment of 30 to 40 bodies from the Catholic hospital took place. The coffins were new, but are believed to have contained nothing but bones. It was not even known whence they had come, or where they had died, some persons supposing they had died during winter, others that the bones were those of bodies taken from some old burying-ground now required for other purposes. The affair made a great noise, and for a week or more hundreds visited the ground daily: the excitement constantly grew, and these interments, connected with the rumours that children were being stolen and killed became dangerous. Many of the coffins were opened and the bones scattered, the grossest indignities and insults being heaped on the remains of those who were supposed to have been Christians.

The Kidnapping stories followed; two men being secured and executed for the crime upon their own confession. Then came the proclamation by the Fu. The next rumour was that the Sisters were in the habit of securing passers by, and this had such an effect that the people dared not pass the Hospital except in large convoys! About this time (15th) the schools were closed in consequence of the story that foreigners intended to visit them for the purpose of taking the scholars. About the 17th or 18th a man was seized who said he was commissioned by the Catholics to kidnap, and that his chief was a native priest or catechist at the cathedral, who supplied him with medicine and gave him five dollars for expenses. In consequence of this statement the Chih-fu visited the cathedral to look for the person referred to, but although they were conducted all over the premises by foreigners the kidnapper was unable to point out the person he accused.

Nevertheless the mandarins paid repeated visits to the place, and on the morning of the 23rd (Chinese moon) the Fu went again on the same errand. Large crowds had already assembled on the banks of the river; a child threw a brick; this was resented by the servants of the Consulate; the child followed and the crowd took up the quarrel. The French officials went unarmed to Chung's yamén whither the native officials had already gone. Chung sent with them several small officials to quiet the people, but the disturbance broke out in one place as soon as it was quelled in another. A rioter was at length seized, which made matters worse. The officers were wounded and had to retreat. The Consul then sent for weapons and again went to Chung's yamên. Report says the Mandarin was twice fired at, a follower of the hsien's being shot by the second ball. Chung then tried to pacify the Frenchmen, and they gave up their weapons to his officers. They were then conducted out of the yamên by these men, Chung remaining in the yamên. The moment the foreigners appeared in the street the mob rose upon them. While they were at the yamên the riot had proceeded at the Cathedral and one Frenchman had been killed there, and the now enraged crowd fell upon the Consul's party and killed them on their way back to to the Consulate, which was now given up to pillage, the gongs sounding the call all over the city.

The Fire guilds arriving at the bridge of boats were met by the Hsien, who under orders from Chung endeavoured to prevent the guilds south of the river from crossing, and the bridge began to be opened, just as either Chen-chen-tai or Chen-tu-suai (military officers) came up and wished to cross. According to Chinese custom this was at once permitted, and the guilds crossed with them, the officer shouting "Haou hsiau, tsz! meng yung! Kwo chü! Kwo chü!" "Good young folks be brave and pass over." The guilds north of the river had however finished the work of slaughter, and nothing remained but to fire the buildings. Returning, the mob rushed off to the hospital, and began their task there.

Another account states that the scandals began about a month ago, and were to the effect that in the Consulate and hospital children were killed and men employed to obtain them. On the Saturday forenoon I heard that the Catholic premises were to be burnt and the *foreigners* slain; heard this from many quarters: Heard the fire guilds called together by gong; and having before learned the intention of the people, knew for what purpose it was. Did not go to the Consulate, but was present at the destruction of the hospital, standing near the back door. The premises were already in flames when I arrived and the sisters slain. The perpetrators were the fire guilds who when the deed was done were summoned to return by the usual call (hau-ling.) Did not see the Fu's proclamation; knew that the schools had been closed as the result of a rumour, but had no idea where it originated. This witness is of opinion that the Literati would not have dared to do anything without a prior understanding with the magistrates, and that therefore, in any case, the latter are the guilty parties, especially the Fu, to whom, he has reason to believe, testimonials were offered by the people three or four days before the outbreak, but were then declined by him with a "wait until it is all over."

Another witness states that he saw the first gong struck. It was a brass wash-basin, and the man who struck it *came out of Chung's yamên, after* the seizure and binding of a Frenchman in the yamen.

Another says that in the proclamation of the Fu, issued after the two alleged kidnappers had been beheaded, neither the names or native places of the men were recorded; it is believed, in fact, that they were simple travellers and were slain without proper examination, or any evidence whatever that the children found with them were not their own. Subsequent to this proclamation, and in gratitude for it, the people in large numbers united in presenting an official umbrella and a tablet to the Fu. These the witness saw in the Hu-pu-chie within the city. They were received by the magistrate, and the witness has been told that the bearers of them were presented with cakes &c. by the magistrate. This was several days before the riot. Several literary men then began to prepare a paper for presentation to the Fu, requesting to know where the two men who were beheaded came from, whose children they had stolen, and to

whom they had sold the children for the purpose stated, also demanding why, without first punishing those who had been in the habit of buying the children, the officials had executed the men who were suspected of selling them; the gist of the whole being a complaint against the mandarins for having acted on mere suspicion.

Other witnesses give testimony similar to the above, and add that it was reported that Chen chen-tai told the men to go forward and burn. At the destruction of the hospital one Chinese woman was taken from it and thrown into the river, but on promising to speak for the rioters and say she had been abducted, she was taken out. There are those here who saw all this. After the destruction of the hospital about 200 armed men resolved to march down on the settlement with loud shouts, but were prevented by officers sent by Chung How who told them their quarrel was with the French and Catholics, and that other foreigners were not to be interfered with. This tallies exactly with the proclamation issued by Chung-How after the tumult had ceased.

It naturally occurs to one on hearing this, that if Chung How had power to prevent an attack on the settlement at the moment when the mob were excited by their cruel deeds, he could, with greater ease had he so wished, have prevented the attack on the French, the plan of which had been gradually maturing for a whole month before.

The second attack, which was intended to have taken place on Friday, is said to have been prevented by the Che-hsien, who used all his power to do so.

1st *July*.

An attack was again intended to have been made last night, according to native reports, a messenger having been sent to the settlement, about 10 P.M. to warn the missionaries. However, it is said to be postponed till the arrival of Tseng-Kwo-fan's armies when we are all to be annihilated. Rumour in Peking has it that Tseng-Kwo-fan has refused to go to Tientsin, giving no reason for so doing. Chung How says that Tseng is sick, and is allowed a week to rest himself, In the meantime he sends down two officers, a Tartar and a Chinese, to examine into affairs, but whether they were to be accompanied by troops or not Chung-How did not know. Excitement among the people in Peking on Monday was increasing, but no immediate danger was apprehended. The Chinese ministers say there is nothing to fear; 2,000 troops were reported to be in the neighbourhood of the north Cathedral as a guard. All the ministers in town have sent a note to Prince Kung declaring that this massacre will outrage the whole civilised world.

It is said that most people in the city here wish for Tseng-Kwo-fan's arrival, some thinking he will settle matters quietly, others that he will lead them them on the foreigners and annihilate the latter at once! It is variously estimated that there are 8,000 to 10,000 men here who live by black-mail and plunder. These are the men who are creating, or rather carrying out the troubles according to order, and they have said they will rather fight Tseng-kwo-fan than be taken by him. They threaten any foreigner who dares to cross to the east side of the river—that is where the Russians were killed. Chung How is said to have but few troops here, and some of them not to be relied on. We are not aware of any of these rioters and murderers having yet been apprehended, and it is supposed that Chung is afraid to do so. I do not expect an attack on the settlement, although it is by no means improbable, that this would have been attempted, but for the presence of the two gun-boats. On the arrival of the *Opossum* it was immediately reported in the city that she was short handed, and with equal alacrity the report spread on the arrival of the *Avon* that she had big guns on board.

Within the last few days the Chinese have desecrated the French cemetery situated close to the city. They have opened many of the graves, searching the coffins for treasure of one kind or another. To such lengths they will go!

Another body last night was sent down to the Consulate by the Chinese authorities. The remains are reported charred, and to have on part of a chemise, and is therefore supposed to be a sister's; they were buried this morning in the foreign cemetery at the Settlement beside the others.

It is reported from Peking that Chung-How goes home as ambassador to France to try and prevent war on account of this unfortunate affair. He is to be succeeded here by Ch'ung-lin, of Corean extraction, but who has been long in Peking. He is highly spoken of as an intelligent young man. Two other changes are talked of, but the names are not given, neither is it stated who is to accompany Chung How to France.

Mr. Peter Kirrulff, a Danish subject, and Mr. Benjamin, of Messrs. E. D. Sassoons went to the city yesterday, but the Chinese merchants consider it is not advisable for foreigners yet to go there.

Dwarf arrived this evening. By her we learn that you had received the news of the massacre. These arrivals will no doubt tend to tame the fierce spirit of the bravos who still go armed in the city and suburbs defying all to touch them.

I omitted to mention that I heard on good authority a few days ago that the Chi-fu, head city magistrate, was present at the burning of the Cathedral &c. He is said to be sorry for it now. He had no idea lives would be lost! An excuse for him is that he had not been long here, and did not know the people. He is buying his experience at a heavy price.

The Consuls have received a despatch from Chung How to the effect that he has been appointed by the Emperor to proceed to Paris.

TIENTSIN.

(From our correspondent.)

4th July 1870.

Since I last wrote all is outwardly quiet. We have now a large fleet here, the *Avon*, *Dwarf*, *Opossum*, *Flamme* vessels of war; and *Shanse*, *Nanzing*, *Shantung*, and *Kiu Shu*, merchant steamers. And this being the 4th of July, we have a grand display of bunting from all of them.

The engrossing topic of conversation is of course the massacre. Chung How is trying every means to exculpate himself; it is even reported that he has sent a circular letter to the native compradores stating that he was twice shot at by the French Consul, and urging them to impress that fact on their employers. I hear the Ministers at Pekin exculpate him from blame. I hope he may be able to prove this.

The Chih-fu only arrived here about the end of April, and was at the time reported to have strong anti-foreign feelings. His name is Chang-Kwang-swai. He and the Chih-hsien are on one side and are opposed to Chung-How. The latter it is said wished to release the men who were falsely accused of kidnapping; but the Chih-fu took the responsibility on himself, saying he was not under the orders of Chung-How, but of Tséng-kwo-fan, and he knew the execution of the two men would please the Viceroy and the Emperor. He accordingly beheaded them, without having the legal power to do so, and without any from of trial. The bodies of the two men were afterwards cut in 10,000 pieces. Chung-How alone possesses the power of life and death here; in the tablet Wang-ming-p'ai.

The name of the Chih-hsien is Liuh-Chieh, who arrived here in 1868. He is a man of no education, a native of Yunnan, and purchased his promotion. He professes to be more a foreigner than a Chinaman, but his professions are not highly esteemed. The name of the *Te-too* I have not heard mentioned; he is said to have been at one time a secretary to Chung-How, and is on his side. The general in command here is Chen-ta-shwai. It is he who led on the brave boys across the bridge of boats to attack and murder the defenceless Sisters of Mercy.

Cheng-kow-jui is the general believed to have come from Tséng-kwo-fan at Paou-ting-foo, and who arrived here some days before the massacre. His professed errand to this place was to worship at the temple to San-ko-lin-sin, who was his foster-father. He has since been in Peking and was received with honor by the Emperor, and is reported to have since returned to Tientsin.

Mr. Meadows goes home with Chung-How. They do not leave for a month. Mr. W. Jackson, formerly assistant to Mr. Meadows in his mercantile business! was lately appointed an assistant at the Imperial Arsenal, and is to take charge of it during Mr. Meadows' absence.

The French have erected at the British Consulate a flag-staff, on which to hoist the French flag. The 15 policemen sent up by the *Shantung*, return by the *Shanse*, much disappointed not to have seen some service in the north. A number of native braves have gone to Taku; disturbances are expected there, and the *Opossum* goes to watch.

The scurrilous letter from Tientsin in the *Daily News* of June 28th is not likely to pass unanswered. * * * was at Tsi-nan-foo on the 28th and wrote to his partner here on that day. He had evidently not heard the report, but he remarks on the strange looks all the people gave him, which he could not account for. This shews that the news of the doings at Tientsin had reached Tsi-nan-foo, but at what date was uncertain.

Another letter says: You know I am not an alarmist; but I do now most deliberately say that things are about as gloomy as they can be. Our natives are much alarmed, and speak of the demonstrations in the city, and especially in the suburbs east of the river as most menacing. They have just come in with the report that Tséng-Kwo-Fan's troops are encamped within ten or fifteen *li* of Tientsin, and that the leaders in these hostilities against foreigners are openly calling on the people to volunteer for service in an organized attack. They are exultant at the arrival of Tseng-Kwo-Fan's men, and say that victory is now most certainly on their side. These statements may indicate little more than foolish bravado, but they at any rate prove that, even though there may not be the ability, there is certainly the will to utterly extinguish the foreign element.

PEKING.

THE following interesting particulars are from a letter dated Peking July 2d.

The rumours referred to as current in Peking, however absurd in themselves, are important as shewing the way the wind blows. The idea that runs through them all is of foreigners to be got rid of, by craft and force; and the careful way in which the French are singled out, even in these popular rumours, as the object of present aversion, well illustrates the *divide et impera* principle on which, it is understood, the Chinese government has been ably prompted by some of its advisers, as the best means of controlling the barbarians. How fatally successful they have already been in playing off one foreign representative against another is only too palpable.

"I don't wonder at your incredulity when I tell you that the apathy of the English-speaking legations is greater than ever. The U. S. have proposed to the Chinese to send a member of the Tsung-li yamen to Paris to manage this, in accordance with the usage of civilized nations, but the Chinese are better than their teachers. On Wednesday 28th they addressed an identical note to the foreign legations that Chung-How would go to Paris, and Chung Lin (member of the present Foreign Board, hated by some at least of his foreign acquaintances here) would take Chung-How's place at Tientsin. Rochechouart lets them go on following their blind foolish guide, but that the French mean real hard hitting, is doubted by those only who are so busy conning their own theories of causes &c, and their own despatches, that they don't go near the French. Chung-How will probably go, he having been proposed for France two years ago, and being able to pay his own way * * * * may go with him, or perhaps a greater white man still. Money works wonders!

More important I fear is the report here that Chen-Kwo-Jui, the old Mahomedan Taiping, who alone broke down the Chih-hsien and led the braves across the bridge, has arrived here, had an audience of the Emperor, and has returned to Tientsin in high favor. This man, I learn, came up from Yang-Chow ... ... reaching Tientsin only 3 or 4 daysbefore Tuesday; and it seems to be only along his route to the north that these astounding proclamations against the Frenchmen, printed *before* Tuesday, were found. These proclamations * * * will not listen; to he says until he sees will not believe in them, and his tone in-

dicates *not even then* ... ... I believe that those proclamations are the print which tracks Chen-Kuo jui, from his mischief making at Nankin to the outbreak waiting his first arrival at Tientsin, if indeed his second arrival in Tientsin to-day from the reception of a pleased sovereign, do not prove the signal of a fresh outbreak ... ... Whether Tseng-Kwo-fan be merely a blind old man, and a tool, ... time will shew.

Stories go here that the nuns were ravished, natives boiled to broth, 2,500 French killed, that the English and Americans indignant at French scorcery, will fight the French even should the Chinese hold their hand. They only see * * * remember, who hates * * * * as he does the devil. They also speak of Taku manned, of the Yangtsze closed by Chinese Gun-boats, &c. Rumours without number.

The Emperor's first Edict was the Friday after the massacre, to the effect that a "foreign Consul" had penetrated the Yamen, fired at the Chih hsien, and been killed by the outraged populace, who had burnt the cathedral; no other murders mentioned. "Let Tseng kwo-fan and Chung How examine and find who is guilty." Verdict of every reader upon such a statement, "Foreigner guilty."

Excitement consequently grew fast, as upon the Chih-fu's proclamation in Tientsin. Notice of the yamén was immediately called to this offensive Edict, but not till Tuesday came out Edict No. 2, saying nothing of foreign firearms, laying blame on whoever implicated foreigners in bad practices; and threatening with death whomsoever should get foreigners into trouble again by implicating them with kidnappers any where in the empire. Tseng alone to examine. The officials to be brought to the Li-pu and degraded Wednesday 26th Chung-How appointed to Paris as above.

Monday 27th excitement was highest. Children taken from ... ... school in fright; one boy forcibly carried off at Tung Chow in fright: several teachers ran away and another two days would have sent servants packing. Rumours that the English legation was *sealed up* by the officials &c. Stones flung at one foreign lady: another detained by a crowd in front of the Cathedral refused passage, except on payment of cash, followed and hooted. We came very near repeating the Tientsin programme

The Edict No. 2 soothed the mob down in 24 hours, and everything is quiet since.

It is a fact that the sisters allowed men from the crowd the week before the massacre, to enter and examine for themselves; that Fontanier rebuked the Sisters for it, expelled the Chih-hsien, and I believe the Fu, on Monday, when they called at the Consulate and demanded an official examination, Report goes that "the legations all exculpate Chung How." The French I am inclined to believe, care little what the others think. They smoke and look unconcerned, but mischief is brewing I am confident, notwithstanding that every official opinion discountenances this. I belive that if the Chinese find they have missed the fighting man, not only at Yangchow in the English, but also at Tientsin in the French, they will try the English and Americans again, and next time make it wholesale.

Some 6000 troops have returned from the camp a few miles out of the city, and are now in their homes here, subject to the call of the moment. The *country* is quite safe as far as I have seen ... ... Feeling is made to order here very fast. Forty eight hours would render the city unsafe at any time that a few powerful mandarins agreed, and the extinguisher is put on with like abruptness when they please.

TIEN-SIN.

By the *Manchu* we have the unexpected news that Chung How has been ordered to Paris. The object of thus shifting the venue is of course plain enough. Encouraged by the success of the Burlingame Mission in hoodwinking the European Governments, the Peking authorities probably believe that everything disagreeable may be avoided by simply "explaining matters" to the French Emperor, and begging him to consider the "difficulties" of China. But on this occasion the impudence of the Peking government has probably over-reached itself. The idea of sending the man who is charged with the blackest outrage on the French nation, and on humanity that has ever been committed in China, as *Ambassador* to the power that has been so insulted, shows how little the Mandarins have yet learned of international decency. The Emperor of China will not condescend to receive the Minister of France, but the Emperor of the French is expected to receive the Chinese murderer of his subjects!

Chung-How is to be succeeded by one Chung-Lin.

The British Consul asked Chung How if it was safe for foreigners to return to the city. H. E. advised a little more delay, and the Consul notified the same to British and French subjects. On the 29th, Mr. J. A. T. Meadows went up to the city, and on his return issued a circular stating where he had been, that he was in plain clothes and unattended, that he met with no molestation, and that he considered it quite safe for foreigners to go there. I understand he went in his capacity of American Consul to look after American interests. This morning (30th. June) the Protestant Missionaries,—alas, there are no others now—desirous of going to see their flocks, consulted their converts as to the advisability of visiting the city, mentioning that Mr. Meadows had gone up yesterday. The converts smiled, and said that placards were posted all over the town saying that Mr. Meadows was coming to the city, and advising every one to be quiet and peaceable towards him. The converts also reported that Mr. Meadows had a guard of several men at no great distance who never lost sight of him, in case of any attack; and that they did not consider it safe for a foreigner to go to the city at present; that though the large majority of the people were well-inclined towards foreigners, yet there were many bad men in various parts of the city who are not to be trusted; they therefore strongly advised the missionaries not to venture at present in the city. Before Mr. Meadows went up it was generally reported that he was to have ten mandarins to accompany him.

The *Dwarf* arrived on 1st July.

As a further contribution to the history of the Tientsin massacre, we give the following statements made by a Chinese who is considered a trustworthy man:—

Before the riot he heard from a hsin tai that there had been a meeting of some literary men at the yamen connected with the Wen-hseo the the temple of Confucius, when a paper was prepared having reference to the *yau yen* and presented to the Mandarins. This was besides a matter of common report. The witness believes this affords a clue to the origin of the troubles, because,

1st.—The meeting in question preceded the issue of the obnoxious proclamation by the Fu.

2nd.—The closing of the native schools followed at once.

3rd.—All the fire-guilds * have literary men at their head.

4th.—The *i-mien* volunteer forces which were originated at the time of the Tai-ping rebellion, are also headed by men who hold literary degrees, a list of these, as of the leaders of the fire guilds, being kept in the Hsien's yamen. These *i-mien* are legally privileged to bear arms; and they formed the armed portion of the crowd on Tuesday the 21st June; they assembled at the signal used by the Fire guilds, proving a preconcerted arrangement between them; such an agreement was necessarily made by the leaders, who again can hardly be supposed to have gone so far without the approval of the literati and local authorities.

The literati who waited upon the Lau-sz were five in number, their names were not known to witness.

In Tientsin there is a Shensz', now or formerly the Hsie-tai of Taku, a red button very wealthy, influential, and a Mahomedan. This man was seen to be specially active in the attack on the French Consulate. The murder of Monsieur Challemaison and his wife, and the the plunder of their house was the work of Mahomedans alone.

The Mahomedans are now in the constant habit of meeting outside the west gate and elsewhere, and a Mahomedan rising is seriously feared by many.

The Chean-hang, Cho-hang, Ten-hang &c., indeed almost all the corporations by which money is squeezed out of the people have Mahomedans at their head, and it sometimes happens that a Buddhist or other religionist is got rid of by foul means to make room for a Mahomedan in such posts.

Our correspondent, who has taken pains to inform himself accurately of the practice of the Sisters of Mercy in regard to receiving children writes:

I have conversed with three gentlemen who had visited the Sisters' establishment only a few days before the massacre. One of them says that when speaking of the Chinese reports a Sister informed him they never paid a cash for a child, and that they could fill their place twice over with children that were offered to them

A second quotes another Sister who told him that parents had frequently brought their children declaring that, if the Sisters would not receive them, it would be necessary to drown them, as the parents were too poor to support them. The sisters had often taken in children under such circumstance even when they had properly no room for them. The parents of the children had always access to them. The sisters had occasionally given a few cash to support the parents when they were very poor.

The third gentleman, whose duty frequently called him to the sisters' establishment, states that he has seen the children at play, neat and clean, and apparently as happy and contented as children generally are, and he has also frequently seen as many as 40 or 50 women there on Sunday, the mothers of the children who had come to visit them. Many of the children were blind.

Writing on July 7th. Our correspondent says:

Several gentlemen and a lady arrived here yesterday from Peking by boat. They were repeatedly asked by the way whether they were English, they passed safely on. They report that the French Consulate seemed completely razed to the ground. The walls and tower of the cathedral are standing, as is also the *Cross* at the apex of the roof.

* There are 48 old fire-guilds, (hoa-hwei) besides many of more recent date (tau-sui); the chief distinction is that the hoa-hwei alone have a right to fees out of the public funds, *tsien-liang*.

Chefoo.

The following is an authentic account of the *Manchu's* stay at Chefoo:

Arrived at Chefoo 3rd July, at 2.10 p.m.; at 9 p.m. great excitement amongst the foreign community, in consequence of rumours that the foreigners are to be attacked to-night. Loaded the guns on board of the Steamer and took all the ladies and children on board.

At a meeting held to-day, 4th July, at Messrs. Wilson, Cornabe, & Co.'s, Mr. Mayers, the British Consul, in the chair, it was voted that the *Manchu* be requested to remain at Chefoo until the next steamer arrived

Our Correspondent writes:—"the community of Chefoo feel deeply grateful to Capt. Steele of the *Manchu* for detaining his steamer to render assistance in case of need."

When the *Manchu* left Chefoo, at 7 P.M. on the 5th July, all was again quiet. The panic seems to have been caused by the disappearance of many of the Chinese servants from the foreign hongs, which was thought to betoken some attack. But well informed people seem to think that the disappearance of the servants was caused by a dread among them of foreign vengeance. The arrival of a number of junks from Tientsin, the crew of which had gone ashore, was probably the cause of the panic among the domestics. It is said that when the alarm arose, and foreigners began to look to their weapons, not more than 12 effective rifles or muskets could be found. A requisition came down per *Manchu* for a supply of Sniders.

Peking.

Sinister rumours were current in the capital immediately after the massacre of Tientsin, but we learn that the appearance of the Imperial Edict in the Gazette on the 27th, ordering an investigation into the Tientsin business had a great effect in allaying public anxiety. The copious rain that had fallen is also supposed to have had a great effect on the native mind.

There appears to be a deep-rooted superstition among the Pekingese that the spires of Pe-tang (Catholic church) being higher than the Imperial palace and all the temples, draws

away the luck from the Chinese to foreigners, and is a great cause of drought and famine. This idea is said to have gained a certain currency in the neighbouring provinces. The populace of Peking, though free from any ill-feeling against foreigners, might easily be excited to commit atrocities by a judicious use being made of these superstitions by the authorities.

The following address of sympathy has been sent today to the Reverend Fathers of the Society of Jesus, of the Order of Lazarus, and of the Board of Foreign Missions in Shanghai, by the Protestant Clergy and Missionaries residing in the Settlement:—

We, the undersigned Protestant Clergymen and Missionaries residing at Shanghai, lose no time in writing to assure you of our profound and sincere sympathy on the present occasion. At a time like this one unanimous feeling of common sorrow fills our hearts. The loss of the devoted men and women, who have been so barbarously sacrificed at Tientsin, is a loss to all Christendom. Deep and terrible, however, as is the calamity, we cling to the Promise of Our Lord Jesus Christ, that He will be with His people to the end of the World, and we are comforted by the teaching of Ecclesiastical History, which assures us, that "the blood of Martyrs is the Seed of the Church.' We pray that full reparation for the past, and better protection for the future may be secured for those engaged in the spread of Religion throughout the Chinese Empire.

Shanghai, July 5th, 1870.

(Signed),

THOS. MCCLATCHIE,
M. A. Canon, of St. John's Cathedral, Hongkong, and Missionary of the Ch. Miss. Society.

CHARLES HENRY BUTCHER,
M. A. Canon of St. John's Cathedral Hongkong. British Consular Chaplain, Shanghai.

WILLIAM MUIRHEAD, GEO S. OWEN, JAMES THOMAS. } Members of the London Mission,

J. W. LAMBUTH, YOUNG J. ALLEN. } Members of the Wesleyan Epis. Church Miss., U.S.A.

J. M. W. FARNHAM, Am. Presby. Mission.

KARL KREYER,

ROBERT NELSON, Presbyter Am. Pryst Epis. Mission, Shanghai.

E. W. SYLE, Seamen's Chaplin.

JOHN WHERRY, Am. Presbyter. Mission Shanghai.

The following reply has been addressed by the French Missionaries, to the letter of condolence which we published yesterday:

A Messieurs les Membres du Clergé Protestant et Missionnaires resident à Shanghai.

MESSIEURS,—En réponse à la lettre collective que vous avez bien voulu nous adresser hièr, nous avons l'honneur de vous dire combien nous avons été touchés de cette marque de sympathie, et combien nous avons, apprécié les nobles sentiments qui l'ont dictées.

Cette marque de sympathie de nous a été d'autant plus agréable que nous avions été péniblement affectés par certaines correspondances livrées au public, et dont le caractère n'est pas moins regrettable par la fausseté des récits que par la malveillance des insinuations qu'elles contiennent.

Nous aurions pu, sur le champ rétablir la vérité des faits dénaturés, et justifier l'innocence calomniée; mais confiants dans le bon sens public, et assurés que la vérité saura se faire jour, quand même, nous avons préféré garder le silence.

Quelle que soit l'amertume de notre douleur, ce n'est pas pour nous une faible consolation de penser que Dieu, qui sait toujours tirer le bien du mal, fera tourner à sa plus grande gloire les lamentables évènements qui attristent en ce moment tous les cœurs honnêtes.

Nul doute que le sang de tant d'innocentes victimes si inhumainement répandu, s'élevant de l'autel de l'agnean, ne crie pour nous et n'obtienne la seule vengeance que nous ambitionnons: une plus grande diffusion de la vraie lumière sur ce peuple assis à l'ombre de la mort, et un plus libre exercice des œuvres de charité à l'égard de tous les malheureux, et surtout de l'enfance qui fut pour notre divin Sauveur l'objet d'une prédilection si marquée.

Shanghai, 6 Juillet, 1870.

A. AYMERI,
Prêtre Lazariste.

H. BASUIAU.
S. J.

E. LEMONNIER,
Mis. Ap. Procureur des Missions Etrangères.

[*Translation.*]

To the Clergymen and members of the Protestant Missions, residing at Shanghai.

GENTLEMEN,—In reply to the letter which you have had the goodness to address to us jointly, yesterday, we have the honour to inform you how far we have been moved by the token of your sympathy, and how far again we have appreciated the high sentiments on your part that prompted it. Your mark of sympathy has been a double pleasure to us, since we had been painfully grieved by some correspondence published in the papers, the character of which is not less to be deplored for the falseness of the recital, than for the ill-will displayed, and for the insinuations contained. We might have immediately re-established the truth against perversion, and justified innocence over calumny; but trusting to the sound common sense of the public, and feeling sure that truth must come out under any circumstances, we had preferred keeping silence. However bitter is our sorrow, yet it is no small consolation for us when we reflect that God, who ever knows how to bring good out of evil, knows also how to change for His greatest glory, these present lamentable occurrences, so saddening to very upright heart. No doubt the blood of so many innocent victims, so barbarously shed, must rise up to the Altar of the Lamb, and cry

loud on our behalf, till it obtains for us the sole vengeance we wish for, viz. the better spread of the true light on these people now living under the shadow of death; the greater freedom for the better exercise of works of charity towards the suffering, and principally towards the little ones who were, for our Divine Saviour, objects of such singular affection.

(Signed) A. AYMERI,
Pretre Lazariste.

H. BASUIAU,
S. J.

E. LEMONNIER,
Procurator of Mission Etranger.

ADDRESS.—*To the Missionaries of the Roman Catholic Mission at Ningpo.*

REVEREND SIRS,—We the undersigned Protestant Missionaries at this port, beg to tender to you an expression of our sincere sympathy, on the occasion of the late barbarous murder of so many of your fellow-countrymen and fellow-laborers at Tientsin.

Whatever difference of opinion as to religious matters may unhappily divide us, we cannot allow it to suppress the natural feeling of deep sorrow which arises in all our hearts, for the terrible loss you have sustained; nor the profound sense of indignation we entertain towards the perpetrators of a deed, which is an outrage alike against the spirit of Christianity, and our common humanity.

Our earnest prayer, however, in the face of this most distressing event, is that the great Disposer of all things may overrule it to the increased security of European life, and the increased extension of our Redeemer's Kingdom in this unhappy country.

Trusting that you will kindly accept this expression of our most cordial symyathy with you under your very deep trial,

We beg to subscribe ourselves,
Reserved Sirs,
Yours most respectfully,

(Signed,) 1.—THOMAS H. HUDSON,
English General Baptist Mission.

2.—E. C. LORD,
American Baptist Mission

3.—W. A. RUSSELL,
Church of England Mission.

4.—CONRAD BASCHLIN,
English & Continental Baptist Mission.

5.—JAMES BATES.
Church of England Mission.

6.—ROBERT PALMER,
Church of England Mission.

7.—J. A. LEYENBERGER,
American Presbyterian Mission.

8.—JOHN BUTLER,
American Presbyterian Mission.

9.—FREDERICK GALPIN,
Methodist Free Church Mission.

10.—J. R. GODDARD,
American Baptist Mission.

11.—H. JENKINS,
American Baptist Mission.

12.—D. L. LYON,
American Presbyterian Mission,

13.—J. BARCHET,
Baptist Missionary.

Ningpo, 8th July, 1870.

TRANSLATION.

SIRS,—It was not without very deep emotion that I read yesterday evening, the address of sympathy which you have condescended to address to us on the occasion of the Massacre at Tientsin.

If we looked at this event only with the cold indifference of reason, we might well despair of a nation which violates so openly the rights of men.

But, as disciples of Jesus Christ, we know that it was by the cross that he saved the world, and his well-beloved disciple adds that "if He died for us, we ought also to die for our brethren." Moreover, there is history to prove that the blood of Christians is ever a fruitful seed which multiplies itself a hundredfold.

Let us then hope that God, without whose will not a hair of our head fall, has permitted this sad catastrophe only for the salvation of the Chinese nation, and that He will get glory from it.

Begging you to accept my sincere thanks and those of all my brethren, whose spokesman I am,

I have the honor to be Sir,
Your very humble servant,
I. MONTAGNEUX,
Pr. Vic. of Chekiang.

Ningpo, 9th July, 1870.

TIENTSIN.

As a further contribution to the history of the Tientsin massacre we give the following statements made by a Chinese who is considered a trustworthy man:—

Before the riot he heard from a Hsin tai that there had been a meeting of some literary men at the yamên connected with the Wen-hsiue, the temple of Confucius, when a paper was prepared having reference to the *yau yen* and presented to the Mandarins. This was besides a matter of common report. The witness believes this affords a clue to the origin of the troubles, because,

1st.—The meeting in question preceded the issue of the obnoxious proclamation by the Fu.

2nd.—The closing of the native schools followed at once.

3rd.—All the fire-guilds * have literary men at their head.

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* There are 48 old fire-guilds, (hoa-hwei) besides many of more recent date (tsu-sui); the chief distinction is that the hoa-hwei alone have a right to fees out of the public funds, tsien-liang.

4th.—The *i-mien*, volunteer forces, which were originated at the time of the Tai-ping rebellion, are also headed by men who hold literary degrees, a list of these, as of the leaders of the fire guilds, being kept in the Hsien's yamên. These *i-mein* are legally privilleged to bear arms; and they formed the armed portion of the crowd on Tuesday the 21st June; they assembled at the sign used by the Fire guilds, proving a preconcerted arrangement between them; such an agreement was necessarily made by the leaders, who again can hardly be supposed to have gone so far without the approval of the literati and local authorities.

The literati who waited upon the Lau ez, were five in number, their names were not known to witness.

In Tientsin there is a Shensz, now or formerly the Hsie-tai of Taku, a red button, very wealthy, influential, and a Mahomedan. This man was seen to be specially active in the attack on the French Consulate. The murder of Monsieur Challemaison and his wife and the plunder of their house was the work of Mahomedans alone.

The Mahomedans are now in the constant habit of meeting outside the west gate and elewhere, and a Mohomedan rising is seriously feared by many.

The Chean-hang, Cho-hang, Ten-hang, &c., indeed almost all the corporations by which money is squeezed out of the people, have Mahomedans at their head, and it sometimes happens that a Buddhist, or other religionist, is got rid of by foul means, to make room for a Mahomedan in such posts.

Our correspondent, who has taken pains to inform himself accurately of the practice of the Sisters of Mercy in regard to receiving children writes:—

I have conversed with three gentlemen, who had visited the Sisters' establishment only a few days before the massacre. One of them says, that, when speaking of the Chinese reports, a Sister informed him they never paid a cash for a child, and that they could fill their place twice over with children that were offered to them.

A second quotes another Sister, who told him, that parents had frequently brought their children declaring, that if the Sisters would not receive them, it would be necessary to drown them. The sisters had often taken in children under such circumstances, even when they had properly no room for them. The parents of the children had always access to them. The Sisters had occasionally given a few cash to support the parents, when they were very poor.

The third gentleman, whose duty frequently called him to the Sisters' establishment, states that he has often seen the children at play, neat and clean, and apparently as happy and contented as children generally are, and he has also frequently seen as many as 40 or 50 women there on Sunday, the mothers of the children who had come to visit them. Many of the children were blind.

Writing on July 7th, our correspondent says:—

Several gentlemen and a lady arrived here yesterday from Peking by boat. They were repeatedly asked by the way whether they were English; they passed safely on. They report that the French Consulate seemed completely razed to the ground. The walls and tower of the Cathedral are standing, as is also the *Cross* at the apex of the roof,

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ADDRESS of the German Community of Tientsin to Count Rochechouart:

(Translation.)

TIENTSIN, 21st July, 1870.

To

Count Rochechouart,

H. I, M.'s Charge d'Affaires in China

M. le Comte,

In view of the events of the 21st June, which have torn away so many unhappy victims from among your countrymen, the German residents of Tientsin, being now enabled by your arrival from Peking to express their feelings to the chief representative of the French nation in China, are animated by a unanimous desire to express to you their most profound and cordial sympathy.

We feel the more prompted to do this, as the faithfulness shown by your Consul and Missionaries, in the fulfilment of their several duties has filled us with the most sincere respect, and as we have always revered the beneficent activity and the zeal, regardless of sacrifice of the Sisters of Charity. At the same time we are fully aware of the community of interests which all foreigners have in these sad occurrences.

The undersigned beg of you, M. le Comte, kindly to bring this expression of our sympathy to the knowledge of your countrymen.

NINE SIGNATURES.

(Translation.)

TIENTSIN, 22nd July, 1870.

To P. Wentzel, Esq.,

Count of the North German Confederation of Tientsin.

Monsieur le Comte,

I have received the the letter which you did me th honour to write me yesterday, together with the address which the German Community of Tientsin have sent me with reference to the events of the 21st June and the massacre, so sad for us, of 17 innocent French subjects.

It is certainty a great consolation, after such a cruedisaster, to feel one's self surrounded by so much symlpathy. I hasten therefore, Monsieur le Consul, to tele you how deeply I have been affected by this act of your countrymen, which I will not fail to bring to the knowledge of my government. And I beg of you to act as my interpreter with them, in thanking them, both for their interest in our grief, and for their flattering praises of the courage and self-denial of the victims of this abominable outrage, which will, I hope, be punished in the way it deserves.

I avail myself of this opportunity to assure you etc.

(Signed) ROCHECHOUART.

THE FUNERAL SERVICE.

THE funeral service for the victims of the Tientsin massacre was held on the morning of the 8th at 9 o'clock in the French church. The building was hung with black and a large catafalque draped with crape

erected in the centre aisle. The regular church service was performed:—High mass for the dead with the absolution. It began with the "*Dies iræ, dies illo*,"; after mass a procession was formed round the catafalque after which were sung as is customary *Libera nos Domine de morte æterna;* and the *Kyrie Eleison*. On the black hanging in front of the organ gallery was the motto HODIE MIHI, CRAS TIBI. The only specialities were the catafalque and black drapery.

The priest who said mass was Father Della Cortes, Superior General of the mission of Kiangnan.

A body of sailors from the French men-of-war now in harbour were drawn up in the centre aisle, and were supported by a detachment of Mounted Police. The attendance was very numerous, and indicated unmistakeably the deep sympathy which the event has called forth in men of all creeds and nationalities. We noticed nearly all the Consuls for the various European nations and the acting Consul for the United States, the Assistant Judge of the Supreme Court and other officials. The Municipal Council attended in a body, and several of the resident Protestant Clergy, testified their respect for the feelings of their Roman Catholic brethren by being present. The flags of the ships in harbour and of the various Consulates were half-mast high.

THE "PAPER MAN" AT CHINKIANG.

SHANGHAI, 9*th July*, 1870.

To the Editor of the

SHANGHAI EVENING COURIER.

SIR,—For some days past, the Chinese at Chinkiang and Yang-Chow, have been considerably excited over a most absurd rumour. The story seems to be gaining credence amongst the Chinese very fast, and as it illustrates their blind credulity,—to say the least—I beg permission to give the readers of the *Courier* a brief account of the rumour, as it was given to me by a gentlemen who resides in Chinkiang.

It is supposed that the "paper man," (that is the name by which the rumour is known) is a kidnapper. He is spoken of as a "foreigner" by the Chinese, and his reputed object is to kidnap, kill, or injure the natives; and in order to accomplish his object without the possibility of detection, he *transforms himself*, by the aid of some mysterious power *into paper!* At times, it is asserted, he will appear as a scrap of plain paper; at other times he comes in the guise of an old newspaper. A favorite dodge with him is to *get himself made into a kite*.

He thereby accomplishes his object, of getting into peoples houses with greater facility.

At all events, he contrives, while "out of the flesh," to have *wind blow him into the houses*, or gets carried in by some means; there he lies as a piecee of paper until all the inmates go to bed at night. When all the family are asleep, suspecting no danger, doors are fastened, the "paper man" assumes the flesh again and carries out his diabolical designs.

As soon as it was reported that the "paper man" had come, the people sought the advice of some wise man, and he advised that a basin of water, *which had been used for bathing by the female members of the various families, be kept in each house, and that every piece and scrap of paper be sprinkled with that water*. One drop of it, would certainly give the "paper man" his quietus. Of course the foolish people are all hunting up bathing water, and sprinkling all the old scraps of paper, and they seem to have great faith in the remedy. Ridiculously absurd as the story is, there can be no doubt that the mass of the people believe it. Short notices are posted thickly through the city at Chinkiang, and also at Yangchow, notifying all to "beware! the "paper man," is coming!" "Look out for the paper man!" &c., &c.

I only speak of the rumor, Mr. Editor, as an instance of Chinese credulity and gullibility. Should any one regard it in the light of a joke, let him reflect that the same stupid ignorance that engenders and fosters such absurdities, has already given us all just cause for deepest sorrow.

Yours truly,

CREDULUS.

THERE was a certain degree of panic and disturbance in the French Concession on the night of the 12th but rumour, as is customary, has greatly exaggerated the reality. We have heard it positively asserted that the Fathers at Tunkadoo had received such threatenings that they thought it prudent to seek the protection of the Settlement; that 60 men were landed from the *Zebra* and patrolled the Bund till midnight; that all the ladies on the French side had left it, &c., &c. This is very wide of the truth. It is true that two priests came in from Sicawei yesterday to make certain enquiries, but they reported all tranquil and friendly around them. Indeed special agents have been employed by the authorities to ascertain whether proclamations were, as has been alleged being posted in the neighbourhood. And their united report is that within a radius of 8 miles not one such proclamation has been seen. But a rumour that the Tunkaloo Cathedral, the French Church, and the French Concession generally, were to be attacked last night, assumed such proportions shortly after 8 p.m. that the French police and Volunteers were ordered out. The French Consul-General saw them properly posted and gave orders that no Chinese were to be allowed to enter the Concession from the city, and that they were to use their weapons only it attacked, Consul Medhurst and Capt. Denison of the *Zebra* were ready to render assistance if necessary Some mandarins, said by some people to have been the Taotae, though that is very unlikely, came with a large number (about 200) soldiers down to the bridge which separates the Concession from the riverside suburb, and wished to come down to render assistnce. But the piquet stationed there refused to let them pass, in terms of Count Mejan's orders, and they were forced to retire, the mandarin expressing his wrath in a loud and violent manner, The picquet was several times assailed with stones by the crowds behind the barrier across the bridge; but when a warning was given the assailants that if they threw any more, they would be fired on, they at once desisted. The patrols were not withdrawn till about 3 A.M. Though some mistake a party of men was landed from the

Zebra and posted round the British Consulate, but they were sent on board again immediately on Mr. Medhurst's return from the French side. Altogether, this slight disturbance may be productive of good, it must have shown the natives that we are on the alert. Two days ago the Taotai informed Count Mejan that the Franco-Chinese battalion (300 men) near Southgate were at his disposal, under the command of M. Pallu de la Barrière, and Count Mejan has requested that they be employed to guard Tunkadoo and Sicawei. It appears also that proclamations which the Viceroy Ma agreed to publish in terms of Count Rochechouart's demand when he visited Nankin have up to this time remained unpublished. But as the result of a severe letter of Count Mejan to Ma, some hundred copies of the proclamation have been sent to the Taotai to be posted up throughout his district.

Proclamation by Ma, Viceroy of the Two Keang; and Ting, Governor of Keangsu,

May 24th, 1870.

It is stated in the 13th Art. of the French Treaty that "the Christian religion having for its object the exhortation of men to do good, its converts shall enjoy the fullest protection to their persons and property, and shall be free to meet together for the preformance of the worship and chants of their religion. The Local Authorities must treat the Missionaries with respect, and afford them protection. No interference shall be offered to such as wish to embrace the religion and practice its rites. All former notices whatsoever prohibiting the doctrine of Christianity, no matter where they were promulgated, must be annulled and removed."

The 6th Article of the supplementary Treaty also states, that "French Missionaries can follow their own will in buying land or building houses in any province."

Now these converts, for all they embrace a new doctrine are yet Chinese subjects, and their teachers inculcate respect and obedience to the Sovereign, and a careful observance of the laws and statutes of China. Of course, then, they must be treated with the same kindness (as you show to Chinese), and so exemplify the wish to regard all with equal benevolence.

The Tsung-li Yamên obtained an Imperial Edict directing the Viceroys and Governors to compel the Local Authorities to deal promptly and equitably with all matters affecting the converts; and not to allow them either to attach such importance as suited themselves to the cases, or intentionally to delay their settlement, and thereby oppress the converts. All this is on record; and the above orders must of course be followed out. Yet, of late, in several places, people have opposed their procuring land or erecting churches, and have created disturbances relying on their numbers.

Although the Local Authorities received strict orders from the Viceroys and Governors, to apprehend and punish the rioters, yet they have been unable in some cases to put a speedy end to the disturbances.

The French Minister, M. Rochechouart, treated the matter in accordance with the treaty.

Hereafter the people and Missionaries, wherever they happen to be collocated, must preserve a lasting friendship and respect for each other. It will not do to stir up anymore commotions.

It is right that we should issue a clear proclamation on this point. And this proclamation is hereby issued, for the information of all within our jurisdiction, both soldiers and civilians. You are to know that the Treaty sanctions both the preaching and the embracing of these doctrines, while those who don't care to be converted cannot be compelled to do so. You are not, therefore, to offer perverse opposition.

These Missionaries have come from abroad, with the set purpose of inculcating virtue; and it is all the more necessary therefore to treat them with courtesy.

After the issue of this proclamation, everyone must observe the treaty; it will not do to make an appearance of complying while you secretly break it. The law will be applied with extra severity if there is any more rioting, and clemency will be impossible. The experiment had better be avoided.

A necessary proclamation.

The following proclamation has been just issued by the Taotai of Shanghai.

Tu the Taotai of the circuit of *Soochow, Sungchiang* and *Taitsang* makes a proclamation.

Whereas it is laid down in the XVIIIth Article of the British Treaty that the Chinese authorities shall at all times afford the fullest protection to the persons and property of British subjects, whenever these shall have been subjected to insult or violence," and in such case shall "at once arrest guilty parties, whom they will punish according to law;" And

Whereas the XXXVIth Article of the French Treaty provides that "if any French subjects shall sustain any injury, or if they are insulted or outraged by any Chinese subjects, the offenders shall be sought for by the Local Authorities, who will take all necessary steps for the protection of the French"—"and having arrested the guilty parties punish them with the utmost force of the law;" Moreover.

Whereas the XIth Article of the American Treaty states that "all citizens of the United States of America in China, peaceably attending to their affairs, shall have their persons and property fully protected from insult or injury, by the local authorities, and that any Chinese guilty of violence towards United States citizens shall be punished by the Chinese authorities according to the laws of China.

Now, at the port of Shanghai trade is carried on between Chinese and foreigners, and up to the present they have lived together in amity as one family; whilst the the local authorities, in accordance with the Treaties have protected the persons and property [of all foreigners]; but lately some utterly lawless persons, whose names are are unknown, have posted up inflammatory placards against foreigners, evidently with the intention of fomenting discord. The Taotai's hatred is roused against [these offenders], and he has ordered the local authorities, and all officials here most carefully to search for and to arrest these criminals and punish them most severely.

The Taotai now issues this proclamation, and commands every Chinaman, peaceably and in accordance with law, to look after his own special business and not to attend to these placards or be afraid of foreigners. If hereafter any persons shall

post up inflammatory placards against foreigners, they shall be arrested and punished with the utmost rigour of the law, they will have no chance of escaping from this.

Let all men most respectfully attend to this proclamation.

T'ung Chih IXth year, 6th moon, and 16th day (July 14th, 1870.)

True Translation

HARRY PARKES MCCLATCHIE.

TIENTSIN.

11th July.

TSENG-KWO-FAN arrived here a few days since. An eye witness (Chinese) reports that on the 9th several mandarins of high rank, Red Buttons, went to the cemetery in which the Sisters of Mercy buried their dead from the hospital, and had several coffins dug up. Bodies, or skeletons, were found with eyeless sockets which some of the party pointed to as evidence that the eyes had really been taken out, whereupon shouts were raised by the excited mob who were present, and loud cries of vengeance against the foreigners, not one of whom they vowed should be left alive. Fortunately, however, there were dissentients among themselves. One of the mandarins, a friend of Chung How's took the part of foreigners and declared that these exhumed remains proved nothing; while on the other hand a strong opponent of Chung How's said they proved everything against foreigners. The exploring party separated leaving a very uneasy feeling on the minds of many of the spectators, and of some to whom the affair was reported.

Yesterday, the 10th, Tseng-kwo-fan issued a Proclamation in which he discredited the stories circulated against foreigners, and called on the people to respect the Edict of the Emperor, and be quiet, not to go down to the settlement in numbers, nor without business, and not to interfere with foreigners coming to the city on business, &c. This Proclamation calmed the minds of the repectable, but roused the ire of the more unruly portion of the people, who were so incensed that they cut it in pieces, saying "We expected him to lead us against foreigners, and lo! he turns foreigner himself." The well-to-do classes are however quite satisfied that all is now well, only they would have to pay some cash to soothe the French.

Two members of the British Legation, Messrs. Fraser and Adkins, had visited Tientsin to investigate the recent occurrences. They had had an interview with Tseng-kwo-fan, and are believed to be thoroughly satisfied that "all is well," that the ringleaders in the massacre will be duly punished by their own authorities without the intervention of either France or England, which which means that some Mandarin will be degraded one step and in a few months be advanced two. With which peaceful message they returned to to the bosom of Mr. Wade and the Tsung-li-ya-men.

Nero fiddled while Rome burned.

PROCLAMATION

issued by Tseng-Kwo-fan, (Viceroy of Chih-li), at Tientsing, July 10th. 1870.

Whereas with reference to the affair of the 13th. day of the 5th. moon (June 21st), I have received repeated Decrees, commanding me equitably to investigate and take action in the matter, with the resolute design to give no opening for hostilities, it is the duty of all, whether servants of the State or simple subjects, to correspond to the intentions of His Majesty, making it their object to allay trouble and give tranquillity to the people. Accordingly, this Proclamation is issued to the resident population in general. It is your duty to pursue as before your accustomed avocations, and you are forbidden to roam about the streets and form assemblages in numbers, spreading abroad unfounded rumours, mutually alarming and disturbing each other. Equally is it forbidden to collect together in the neighbourbood of the foreign houses and foreign vessels, thereby giving rise to occasions of quarrel. As regards the measures to be taken for inquiring into, and judicially dealing with, the affair in question, I shall as in duty bound hold a stringent investigation and arrive at a decision thereupon in conformity with the principles of justice, and shall shew not the slightest partiality or negligence. Let all tremblingly obey &c.

TIENTSIN, 11*th July*, 1870.

To the Editor of the

SHANGHAI EVENING COURIER.

SIR,—Self-defence is sometimes so apt to look like self-praise that were it not most important on other grounds for your readers to know the utter worthlessness of many of the statements of a certain *starred* Tientsin correspondent, we should allow the reckless charges he has brought against ourselves to pass unnoticed. As it is, we simply record the following facts as answering his reflections on our body in your issue of July 4th.

First. The houses of the Protestant missionaries at Tientsin are in a more exposed position than at any other foreign residence not acutally situated in the city. They stand nearest the point occupied by the chief actors in the recent horrible outrages as their principal rendezvous, and were thus in no small danger in case of an attack. The houses on the Bund gave to their occupants the advantage of an immediate communication with the means of escape. The *Daily News* correspondent is supposed to be a gentleman whose own quarters are at the end of the settlement furthest from the city, and it is not unlikely that this and *other* weighty considerations go far to account for his own professed tranquillity.

Secondly. As one of the effects of "the friendly feeling of the people" towards us (many other having been forthcoming) we were duly apprised of the intention of an organised band of desperadoes to attack our houses for purposes of plunder, and were also informed of the often repeated declaration of the mob to destroy our English Church, which is in close proximity to our dwellings. That this was no meaningless threat is proved by the fact that the writers caught a villain in the church tower, who admitted that he was intent on an incendiary act.

Thirdly. Common sense, no less than the chivalry upon which our countrymen have been wont to pride themselves, demanded that in such a time of anxiety and peril, women and children should be placed, if possible, in a position of safety. Such a course was deemed necessary and urged upon us by many noble men amongst the gentle-

men of the Tientsin community. This was held to be alike necessary for the calmness and security of the mothers and little ones, and for our own unfettered co-operation in such measures as might be decided upon for the public welfare.

Fourthly. On the afternoon of the day of the massacre, the undersigned placed themselves at the disposal of the English Consul, and those acting with him, to be used in any way that might be thought best for helping to meet the demands of the grave crisis in which we were involved. We offered either to take the sole responsibility of watching over our own outposts, or, if it were considered more important, to leave our dwellings and effects to the mercy of circumstances and take duty on the Settlements. We were told that the greatest service we could render to the general interest would be to remain at our own houses, and watch the approaches from the city. This responsibility we cheerfully accepted, and we say to your correspondent that it is *simply false* that we ever deserted our posts for one moment, or that we ever designed or desired to do such a cowardly thing. If your contemporary's correspondent had not been so absorbed in the preparation of his plausible, but dangerous articles, he might have seen for himself, what almost every other member of the community saw, that during those dark and dreadful nights in the early stage of this fearful drama, we were endeavouring to be second to none in vigilant watchfulness and hardy endurance. It is true that only two of us were to be found at the houses, but why was this? It is explained by the fact that one of our number who had just passed through a painful bereavement and was somewhat out of health, was encouraged to remain for a brief period on board the *Manchu*, while the other two members of our missionary circle were discharging their mission duties at far distant country stations. We therefore consider that the correspondent is bound to withdraw his unfounded assertions, or, failing this, to cease hurling his envenomed shafts from behind a screen, that the public, knowing the man, may know what value to set upon his testimony.

In conclusion, we remark that a three-fold motive actuated us in determining to continue on our Mission premises. There was the one already referred to, as arising out of the knowledge that the ruffians were only waiting for our departure to plunder and burn our Mission property, which achievement would assuredly have been the signal for a general rush upon the settlement. Another consisted in the fact that we were thus in a position from our hourly intercourse with the people, to give the earliest and most reliable information respecting the state of feeling in the city. The last, and with us a very influential motive, was that thus we might cheer and strengthen our suffering converts. Though the correspondent can afford to despise the results of missionary labour in this place, we have no reason to regret our resolution to stand by the native Christians to the last, and, whether Protestant or Roman, to render them every assistance in our power. Their urgent entreaties that we should care first and chiefly for our own safety; their affectionate anxiety on behalf of our families; their unshaken stedfastness in this terrible hour of trial; the sorrow through which they have patiently passed, amounting in not a few cases, literally to "the loss of all things," and in others to cruel beatings and imprisonments, have endeared them for ever to our hearts, and are indeed an all-sufficient answer to the taunts that we have laboured nine years in the Tientsin vineyard in vain. Never did these men stand so high in our estimation as now. Some of them have proved very heroes. We, who knew them best, had never dared to hope that so much of Christian manliness had already been developed in our little churches. And now, more than every secure of their confidence and love, we can afford to laugh to scorn the sneers of an anonymous writer, whose slur upon the courage and devotion of Protestant missionaries, was only what might be expected from one who could insinuate that our martyred Catholic sisters deserved their cruel fate. We are Sir, Your obedient servants,

WILLIAM N. HALL.
JONATHAN LEES.

PEKING.

The American Missionaries had a meeting here on the 5th to consider the unsatisfactory information furnished by the American Consul at Tientsin to the Minister, and if necessary to memorialise Mr. Low and, possibly, the home government on the subject. "Dr. Williams and Mr. Low," we are told, "only err from defective information. Dr. Martin is all right. He feels disappointed and chagrined at the conduct of the Chinese government." The President of the Peking University is further understood to have expressed himself favourable to a war which would awake the Chinese out of their rottenness. This is indeed a reaction from Burlinganism of which the Prosessor of Hermeneutics has been so conspicuous a partisan, but we have no doubt he is as sincere now as on previous occasions when he has changed his opinions,—probably more so, as the present utterances bespeak a tendency to return to his first love.

Chêng of the "Foreign Office," who is to succeed Chung How, is still in Peking. He is said to be a "very good fellow," but timid about going to Tientsin.

The Roman Catholic priests are believed to have left town.

Three individuals have been seized, accused of kidnapping. Several children in the nighbourhood have disappeared, and few patients visit the foreign hospital. The feeling against foreigners is, if anything, increasing, but no danger is apprehended. All the ministers, except Mr. Wade, are in town.

The opinion of well-informed people in Peking is, that if the Tientsin business be slurred over, it will be impossible for foreigners to live in the north of China away from the sea.

NEWCHWANG.

Business is nearly at a stand-still. It was never worse, if ever so bad, before. The harbour is nearly empty of ships, and a few days ago there was not a single foreign vessel in port. When the "Kinshu" leaves, an hour hence, there will only be one foreign vessel in port.

Sycee is dearer than it was during the winter. In the last few days the exchange has been considerably over twelve *teaous* per tael. There is so little Sycee in the market, that it is not expected the exchange will fall much below the present rate, for some months.

About the 29th or 30th of last month, rumours of a massacre of foreigners at Tientsin reached us, through a Chinese source. These were at first, not believed, the natives however evidently gave credit to the horrible story. The tale of horror was, that *all* the foreigners were murdered; and it was affirmed that it had been in contemplation, to treat all foreigners at Peking, Tientsin and Newchwang in the same manner. The natives here were very excited, and the Cantonese and Southern Chinese generally, were in a state of great alarm. Foreigners were just beginning to think, there might possibly be a grain of truth in the Chinese reports, when on Sunday morning 3rd July, a North German vessel (the Emma) arrived here from Taku. The Captain had been at Tientsin and said he had seen the murdered body of the French Consul, and heard the particulars of the cruel butchery of the Sisters of Mercy. It was now beyond a doubt, that a great and scandalous crime had been committed. Foreigners here became anxious, the report that a general massacre at Peking, Tientsin and Newchwang had been contemplated, obtained more or less credence; and now the foreigners equally with the Chinese were impressed with a sense of danger. Our community is a scattered one, the means of defence against a Chinese rising do not exist, there were only two sailing vessels in port, and one Gun-boat was near. It is not wonderful then that when the last foreign vessel left our port, we all more or less felt out position to be a perilous one, and that we were in a somewhat anxious state. We did not like the idea of having actually no ship to which, as a last resort, we might betake ourselves, or to which we might send our women and children. It was a great relief to every one when on Saturday morning (9th July) our deserted harbour was once more enlivened by the *Kiu Shu*, which brought the detailed account of the Tientsin tragedy, and the assurance that everything was quiet there. We are told moreover, that the Tientsin people (foreigners) take the massacre quietly, that the feeling is one of sympathy for this foul deed, but this is to us incredible. Whatever the practices of the French priests may be, nothing can justify so monstrous a murder, and it is to be hoped that the French government will in a signal and impressive manner, visit upon the Chinese government, a righteous retribution. Unless this is done, we cannot hope to live in peace in China; and we shall be startled ere long by hearing of another catastrophe, greater in its magnitude at one or other of the ports, and without the slightest excuse which friends of the mandarins advance in extenuation of the Tientsin tragedy.

You will be astonished to learn that as yet no gun-boat has visited us. Living as we do in a place where there is only slight steam communication with the southern ports, one would naturally have expected our Naval or Consular authorities to send a gun-boat here, when they heard of the disturbance at Tientsin. But I suppose we must wait, until some of us get murdered. Surely if a gun-boat is needed any where, it is here, but that again may be a reason for not sending one.

The *Kiu Shu*, starts for Shanghai via Chefoo about 11 a.m.

12th July, 1870.

The following is an authentic report of evidence on the late massacre given by a respectable Chinaman at Tientsin:

Tientsin, July 4th, 1870.

Evidence of———

The man——resides on the east of the river the rendezvous of large numbers of the parties implicated in the recent violent outrages against foreigners. He is a man of known integrity of character. During the past fortnight, I have had several conversations with him, and have received from him voluntary testimony of which the following is an epitome.

For some weeks before the outbreak witness had heard of a contemplated attack on the French Church. In the first instance, the rumours involved no reference to designs on the lives of foreigners, and the only motive assigned for the threatened destruction of property was, that the beneficial courses of the Feng Shui which were considered to be seriously obstructed by its existence, might thereby be effectively restored. It was not only a few days before the attack that he heard of any intention to kill foreigners, and when this was first spoken of in his presence, the French residents—more commonly the Tien Chuchiau, or Roman Catholics, were alone mentioned as the victims to be sacrificed. At this time the talk about Feng Shui had given place to wild stories respecting the alleged abduction by Romish emissaries of native children, and even of adult persons, who were said to have been put to death, and to have been used for various medical compositions and applications. Thes absurd rumours were deligently and rapidly circulated, so that, at length, he found it impossible to go anywhere without hearing them adverted to. The cry then began to be raised "Death to *all* foreigners and the entire demolition of foreign property." On Sunday, the 19th of June, the members of the Fire Brigades in the locality of ——'s residence appeared on the streets in great force, and ostentatiously published their hostility to foreigners and their deliberate decision to massacre the whole foreign population. He did not think that this threat would be carried into execution, as he had heard such announcements in former years and knew they had not been verified; but he become so alarmed by manifestations around him that he retired from the neighbourhood, and, accompanied by his aged mother, made his way to some relations residing in the country. His friends advised him to remain with them until certain that the popular commotion had subsided, but, on Tuesday forenoon, 21st of June, he ventured to return to his home in the hope that the crisis was passed. When drawing near to the Ho-shen-mun, he observed that the main thoroughfares were thronged with armed men, and that the utmost disorder prevailed. He also heard oft repeated cries of "death to all foreign devils." Taking a circuitous route through comparatively unfrequented paths and alleys he shortly reached his own house, which stands some yards distant from the main street in that district. He ascended the roof of his dwelling for purposes of observation, and had scarcely taken his posision there, when he saw the mob madly rushing towards three chairs, which were being hurriedly borne in the direction of the foreign settlement. The chairs were seized within a stone's throw of his house, and the deafening cry

was raised "here are foreigners! kill the foreigners." The rabble began to strike the chairs, and the occupants (the poor Russians) jumped out exclaiming "we are not French, we are English." He distinctly heard the reply "that does not matter, we will kill all." He saw the rioters seize a foreign lady, and strike her with their swords. Two foreign gentlemen attempted to rescue her, but they were immediately struck down, and, to all appearance, instantly killed. The lady was then subjected to brutal indignities. She was stripped of her clothing, her person was mutilated, a finger was cut off for the sake of her ring which she wore, and other barbarities perpetrated. The bodies of the lady and gentlemen were then taken and burned on the plain, but he afterwards heard that they were take up at dark and thrown into the river. He noticed a number of yamen runners on the scene, but did not see a single official. These men never attempted to interfere with the proceedings of the mob except in one instance, when they advised that the foreign settlement should not be attacked *on the day*. Their whole deportment was that of men who approved to the acts of the crowd. He solemnly declares that the guilty offenders claim all the leading officials with the exception of Chung-kung-paou, as heartily encouraging this attack on foreigners. The last named official he pronounces to be in great disfavour with the people, because of his known disposition to save foreigners from these violent and murderous assaults. He testifies that up to yesterday, Sunday, July 3rd, thousands of men were parading the streets armed and eager to complete the extermination of foreigners, and that nothing but the arrival of gun-boats has prevented them from visiting the set lement. He most confidently asserts that any foreigner going to the east of the river would be instantly killed, and he knows that the same thing holds good with regard to various parts of the city and its suburbs. He knows the rioters to be exultant at the approach of Tseng-kwo-fan's troops, and to be constantly declaring that a large proportion of the soldiers are in sympathy with their hateful designs, and will unite with them in seeking their accomplishment. They parade the streets calling for volunteers to aid their dark crusade, and openly and loudly ask. "What of those gun-boats? The foreign devils are few, we are many, and even though some of us be killed, we can soon overcome them by force of numbers." As an incitement to co-operation, they remind the people that the deeds of the 21st of June were followed by needed and abundant rain, and that this circumstance clearly indicates the will of Heaven to have them prosecute to its consummation the object on which they have set their hearts.

Other details were furnished by this witness, but the above paragraph comprizes the more important items of his calmly expressed testimony.

TIENTSIN.

14th July.

TSENG-KWO-FAN has suspended three mandarins here; the Footai, Chu-chia-hün has been replaced by Tang-shen-chang; the Chifu, Ching-Kwang-tsao, by Ma-sheng-wu]; the Chih-hsien, Liu-chieh, by Hsiao-shih-pen.

Tseng-kwo-fan is about to send for troops to catch and punish the ringleaders in the late massacre. At Taku it is reported that shot and shell are being placed in the forts, and another port being opened by which the shipping in the first reach in the river on the landward side of the forts, may be commanded by the guns of the forts.

Of Cheng-lin, the successor appointed to Chung-how, it has been already remarked that he is timid about coming to Tientsin, he is now reported "Sick." It is a curious fact that the mothers of several of the Peking teachers in Tientsin fell sick at the same time, rendering it necessary for the teachers to visit Peking whence they have not yet returned.

COUNCIL ROOM.

Shanghai 18*th July* 1870.

PRESENT.

G. B. Dixwell Esq.,—*Chairman.*
David Reid Esq.,—*Vice-Chairman.*
W. Cameron Esq.
J. Anderson Esq.
J. G. Purdon Esq.
S. J. G. Jellicoe Esq.
W. Remè Esq.
T. Probst Esq.

Alex. J. Johnston,—*Secretary.*

The Minutes of the last Meeting were confirmed and signed.

The following Report from the Defence Committee was read and adopted.

REPORT OF THE DEFENCE COMMITTEE.

Your Committee have the pleasure of laying before you a report of their proceedings.

Upon your deciding to accept the control of the Shanghai Volunteer Corps, measures were taken for arming the Corps viz: for the purchase from Messrs. Ilbert and Bidwell and Glover, Dow & Co., of 500 stand of Breach-loading Rifles—Sneiders—with 100,000 rounds of ammunition, the necessary accoutrements &c., &c.

The Rifles, by the terms of the contract entered into are to be delivered within a month from the date of the acceptance of the tender.

Pending the arrival of these arms from Japan, Mr. Groom has very kindly given your Committee the use of 500 short Enfield Rifles, with accoutrements.

The have been served out to the members of the three Rifles Companies and of the Shanghai Fire Brigade.

They will be withdrawn from the companies upon the issue of the Sneider Rifles. To meet the present emergencies, your Committee have purchased 10,000 rounds of ammunition a proportion of which has been served out with the short Enfields.

The Mounted Rangers will be provided with Breach-loading Pistols, Swords &c., &c.

The purchase of these arms your Committee are glad to be able to state has met with the almost unanimous approval of the Ratepayers.

Your Committe have had two rifled 12lbs breach

loading guns placed at their disposal by the courtesy of Mr. Telge.

An application has been made to H. E. the Major General commanding H. M. Forces at Hongkong for the services of a qualified Drill and Musketry Instructor to the Volunteers who arrived by the "Sunda"—In regard to placing the drill instructor, Sergeant Chapman at the disposal of the Volunteers, Major General Whitfield observes "Sergeant Chapman is well suited for the duties he will be called upon to perform—he has not been at Hythe, but has gone through several courses of Musketry with his Company."

"It affords me much pleasure to be enabled to "comply with the request of the Council and to "be in a position to offer this slight assistance to "the Volunteer movement at Shanghai."

Your Committee have conferred with the Hon. Capt. Denison of H. M's S. "Zebra," and the officers commanding Companies, in regard to defensive measures, and various points of detail affecting the Corps.

The muster Sneider Rifle has been tried by Captains Maclean, Cann, and Kidner, who have handed your Committee the following very satisfactory report on it.

TIENT-IN.

OUR advices from this quarter are not of a particularly satisfactory nature. There was a fear that the French Chargé d'Affaires had made a premature settlement of the tragedy of June 21st, the conditions being the rebuilding of the Cathedral and Hospital within the city as before, and of the Consulate at Tz-chu-lin (the foreign settlement); two mandarins to be beheaded. Count Rochechouart is believed to have been "talked over" by certain infatuated persons to a belief in the Chinese versions of the Tientsin massacre, which are so palpably false that they need not deceive a baby. Chung How has been acquitted of the murder, and the French representative has been hob-nobbing with him on the most familiar terms (greatly to the indignation, we are glad to learn, of the unsophisticated officers of the gun-boats) without even the pretence of an enquiry. Two mandarins are reported to be condemned to death, equally without anything approaching to a legal trial or such an investigation as would satisfy the least fastidious of civilized races. Money does the rest! But it seems more likely that M. Rochechouart is fooling the Chinese, rather than that he has forfeited the respect which his firm and consistent career previously had won for him.

To have two mandarins actually beheaded, and the fact notified in the *Peking Gazette* would of course be an important point from a political point of view. It will be curious to see how this is carried out; but however desirable it may be to dispense with what is technically called "War," the man holding the responsible position of Count Rochechouart, who would allow such an occasion to pass without taking precaution to prevent future outbreaks, without tracking the recent atrocities to their real authors (even if the Vice-Roy Tseng-kwo-fan, or a higher power still, should be implicated) without settling once and for ever the wretched question of audience, and generally placing the Chinese in their true position, is no statesman.

Mr. Consul Lay has been very energetic in collecting and sifting facts for the information of the British Chargé d'Affaires, the tenor of which was to criminate the Chinese authorities. The Consular zeal has lately cooled down owing, it is supposed, to the fact that Mr. Wade has become intolerant of information. From the first he is said to have decided that the massacre was an accidental street riot, and a street riot it shall remain.

On the attitude of the foreign representatives at Peking, a correspondent makes the following sensible observations:—

How like mockery it seems, to read of these gentlemen taking it comfortably at this hills, and taxing their ingenuity to make it appear that this hideous crime is a small affair. They can afford to smile at the reports sent them from Tientsin, to treat them as the frenzied ebullitions of a lot of alarmists, and to regard this fearful massacre as the freak of a suddenly excited populace. The butchery of 19 men and women, a month's loss of peace, the almost total suspension of trade, the demolition of nearly a score of buildings, the sacrifice of no body knows how many natives, the perpetual clamourings of the lawless villains for the completion of their work of blood by the utter extermination of foreigners, and the damning evidence we have of the culpability of some of the officials in this enormous tragedy; all this fails to convince these gentlemen that there is much reason for complaint, or any cause for fear. Here is a grand opportunity for placing foreign relations with China on a more substantial and satisfactory basis than has ever been practicable; but let this chance pass without due improvement, and what may we next look for in the shape of indignity and humiliation.

(From our Correspondent.)

TIENTSIN, 18*th July*, 1870.

SOME of our readers may think it strange that no public expression of sympathy has been called forth from the Tientsin community on account of the late sad affair here. Our indignation has been deep and strong, and has been loudly and forcibly expressed among ourselves, both as to the cowardly miscreants who were the instigators and actors in the horrible tragedy, and also in regard to the unfortunate individual among ourselves who so far forgot himself and his nationality as to become their apologist.

The Sisters of Mercy were often among us and were highly respected by all who knew them, for their good deeds and self-sacrificing labours;—much deep sympathy is felt for them and for their friends.

The community felt it due to themselves to let the writer of communications from Tientsin which appeared in the *N. C. Daily News* of 21th June and 4th July over the signature * * * * know how strongly they disapproved of those communications. Who the writer was, was perfectly well known to every man and woman in the settlements. To this individual a letter was therefore drawn up and signed by landrenters representing nearly every lot in the settlement. But two respect-

ed members of the foreign community thought it well before that letter was sent, to send a written enquiry whether he acknowledged himself to be the writer of the two offensive communications. To this enquiry his answer was as follows: "I beg leave to own receipt of your letter of yesterdays' date asking me to give you information in respect to the writer of some letters which have lately appeared in the *N. C. Daily News* In reply I beg to state that as I am neither the Manager nor the Editor of the *N. C. Daily News*, I am not the proper person to apply to, but that you should direct your question to either of those gentlemen."

At the same time that that this reply was received it was reported on good authority that Mr. John A. T. Meadows had acknowledged himself the author of the letters in question, and said he was sorry he had written them. The land renters' letter was then sent to Mr. Meadows. It ran as follows:—

JOHN A. T. MEADOWS ESQ.
Chairman Municipal Council,
Tientsin.

SIR.—We the undersigned land renters and others residing at Tientsin, disapproving in the strongest manner of your conduct in the late most serious and sad affair here, and believing you to be, from your words and action here, the writer of articles in the *N. C. Daily News*, which we consider to be unjust and untrue, and calculated to damage, in the eyes of all good men, were such reports not contradicted—the reputation of the foreign residents here;—have to request that you will resign at once into the hands of the land renters your office of Municipal Councillor."

Signed by nine resident land renters, and by nine gentlemen residing here who approve of the same.

To this Mr. Meadows replied:—"As I shall, as you have no doubt already heard, very soon take my departure from Tientsin, and as I shall in these circumstances, not be here to attend to my duties as one of the Municipal Councillors, I resolved some days back to send in my resignation to you on the afternoon of this day. I now therefore carry out that intention and have now to request you will please communicate my resignation to our colleague Mr. Hannen for his information. I am in receipt of a letter from the land renters and it is my intention to reply to it during the next 18 days."—

More than enough of your space being now occupied by the above affair, I turn to the general news.

Count Rochechouart and most of his staff arrived here yesterday from Pekin, having visited their Excellencies Tseng-kwo-fan and Chung-how on his way down. He has also visited the scene of the massacre. This morning Chung-how is reported to have taken breakfast with him on board the *Flamme* where he has taken up his quarters. He has also received the cards of some smaller mandarins. It is said the officers of the French steamer are very much annoyed at his conduct, and think he is allowing himself to be talked over to the British and American way of settling things. I rather think he may be borrowing a leaf of Chinese etiquette and playing with them until he is able to work. One or two gentlemen remain at the French Legation in Peking. Three priests came down with the party and it is said they have been ordered by Rochechouart to return to their chapels and their work. They replied their chapels were all destroyed. He then told them to put up mat-roofs, but they said they would not again go up to the city without a gun-boat. Is all this a little by-play to throw dust in the eyes of the Chinese?

As to the British Legation, Mr. Lay our Consul here, collected and forwarded to Mr. Wade an immense mass of evidence criminating the Chinese authorities; but of late no more has been asked for or sent. Both the British and American chiefs seem to pray: "give peace in our time." The letter sent in to the Tsengli-yamen on the news of the massacre was strongly worded in the original; this, however, the British Minister would not sign; he got it to translate into Chinese and then made it so that he could sign it.

The gentleman mentioned in your paper of 9th July was deserted at Tsinanfoo by all his servants and had to take refuge in the house of two priests some distance off. The people were threatening to kill all foreigners as had been done at Tientsin. The lives of some foreign merchants at Tientsin were saved by a banker, a chemist, and some compradores, whose houses line the lane leading to the settlement, and who stopped the crowd as they came rushing on by assuring them that all the foreigners had fled. I heard the other day of another apologist for the assassins. He also is in the Chinese Imperial service. It is well to hear both sides of the question. H. E. Chung-how will not be condemned without a fair trial, and if he can be proved innocent all must rejoice. But on the other hand a soldier who shows the white feather in action may be shot at once, and what then ought to be the fate of a general like Chunghow who through cowardice even, allows an army of martyrs to be sacrificed? A few days before the massacre the sisters said that up to within a week of that time the Mandarins always said they did not believe the stories current against them. But about the time mentioned they received a letter from the mandarins which insinuated that those rumours were beginning to be believed. In one of the *Cycles* I believe it is said that a post-mortem examination had taken place at the Sisters' Hospital lately. Careful enquiry justifies me in contradicting that statement. No such examination has taken place in the Catholic establishment within the experience of any medical man here. The river between this and Taku is still considered unsafe for foreigners; several have been threatened and some in great danger. Now that the catholic priests have come down we hope to get the evidence of their converts.

The other day an old servant, now second in command of a recently built steamer, called, and in talking matters over he said the Mandarins all denied complicity. I said if they had been innocent, why did Tseng-Kuo-fan degrade some of them? He quickly answered that the went for nothing. The Mandarins of a place where trouble arose were always punished whether guilty or not. The British Chargé d'affairs will be satisfied if the Chinese punish the offenders. The punishment will be as usual—the loss of a button and removal to a higher station.

When, like the British Minister, you get tired of hearing about these things please let me know, and I will write no more till the fighting begins.'

Your's truly.

THE following letter from a Missionary at Tientsin to a friend, gives a very distinct idea of the state of feeling towards foreigners and their converts in the country for a considerable distance around Tientsin. We are glad, however, to learn that his missing friends have arrived overland at Chefoo :—

The messenger returned a few days ago, having traced———as far as Tsi-nan-fu, where he concluded that it would be fruitless to continue pursuit any longer. He was obliged to take a circuitous route in returning, as he found the people on the main roads full of deadly hatred to foreigners, and threatening harm to all connected with the obominated barb rians. He of course can testify to the state of feeling only on this side of Tsi-nan-fu. Being well known throughout this district as one of our most trusted men, he was specially exposed to suspicion and danger. He says ———could not have passed through some of the places without injury; but he thinks he might have got through by selecting unfrequented lines of road. A messenger was sent to me by one of our weel-to-do members in Shantung, with kind enquires after my state and propects, The messenger was so alarmed by the demonstration he encountered tha the lost courage, and before I could finish my reply to my Shantung friend, he had bolted, so anxious was he to get home again.

The three girls whose abduction by the mob on the day of the massacre caused me such horrible anxiety, were after much trouble found and restored to us. A week ago I sent them away to their distant homes in charge of two of the fathers and their old teacher. The carter has returned to me, stripped of everything, and suffering from cruel beatings. The poor girls and their fri nds were ill-treated by the people, who charged them with being christians, and when the carter left them, they were being sent in charge of some rascally yamen runners to Lauling-hsien, which means that thay will be kept in prison till some of their poverty-stricken relation raise a good sum for their ransom. The report has been raised in some places that Mr. and Mrs. H. also secured children for the vile purposes attributed to the Sisters I am distressed at this affair and propose to send another messenger off at once to ascertain the present aspect of the case. A sum of mission money was in the cart, but not a serious amount.

Some of the villains over the river have erroneously fancied that I could bring some influence to bear on the French, and that it might be worth while to conciliate me. Who they are, I do not know, but they sent a message to me the other day to the effect, that if I would go and talk with them, they would protect me, and that if I would promise to speak to the French in their favour, they would restore some of the things stolen from our members. I replied I had not a particle of influence with the French, and if I had such influence, it would not be used in their favour. They are said to be rapidly losing their bravery, and to be gradually clearing out. I suppose that by the time they are specially wanted none of them will be found.

WE have been favoured with the perusal of a letter written from Peking to a friend, from which we make the following selections.

Peking, 12th July, 1870.

Five minutes funk for their own wives and babies would do more to convert Wade and Low than all the wisdom and truth you could uncover during the remainder of your lifetime. At present they are safe at "the hills" from any Peking attack. In this Tientsin affair we should strennously contend against the misnomer "mob" or "riot" that it is tried to fasten to it. *Massacre* it surely was, and nothing else. I am told the guilds went in from Pakow, 35 li from Tientsin early on Tuesday morning *to be in time* for the attack. This I know for certain, and the same is said of other places within a 40 li radius. A forciguer's teacher came in a day or two ago from the S. W. and he says no foreign mission work can be done now. Those he went to baptize refused to come forward during this excitement. A friend, learned in such matters, believes the yamen *originate* the kidnapping stories. They force poor wretches to confess, who are then safely kept, or *safely killed* where the headless trunk cannot complain of unjust punishment.

As to the Mahommedan origin of these troubles, I hold, that either the Mahommedans, as being better organised, have been made use of just now by the Peking Government, working through such officers as Tséng-Kwo-fan; or, (and this I more incline to) that the movement is really Mahommedan, who are bound to have a quarrel with some or all outsiders, with the French if that will only weaken the Chinese Government without killing it; and if the French wont fight, they will kill off another batch. Perhaps the state of feeling south of Tientsin will throw new light on Williamson's death. At all events large pecuniary compensation for his widow ought to be recovered in connection with this Tientsin affair. I cannot but hope, at all events, that the whole thing will lead to the burial of the present 7 by 9 effete and worm-eaten representation of Old England at Peking. I assure you it will be attended with few tears, and the funeral expenses will be paid with pleasure. It is refreshing after seeing the conduct of the English minister, to contrast with it the hard manly work, yes, overwork, of the Tientsin Consul. Do you knowwhat is the great passport to favour with Wade? Rip open your necktie; gasp for breath; choke out a "Heaven take the missionaries who think they knows a diplomats' pidgin better than he does himself, placed at a *cool observing distance*," and you have, I fancy, the key. You ought to know that when a man's ideas are set in a cast-steel mould, to add to those ideas is to burst the mould altogether. If, therefore, any are so ill-advised as to send to Mr. Wade any more implication of the high-minded Chinese officials, his ear drum, ringing already with the foul calumny that mandarins have had to do with this little eccentricity of an "outraged populace," that ear

drum will burst, and Wade be for ever deaf to all calls whether human, diabollic, or missionary. A lady here says that in all this "she sees nothing new."

The only thing that seems to keep most people here is the shame of being the first to go. Let the panic become a little stronger and all missionary ladies and children will be sent to Tientsin. Dr. Dudgeon believes every place in Peking less safe than his Hall of Health, Conscious of a life generously spent for some of these yellow skins, he meets suggestions of danger from Chinese, as if people meant that his *old patients* were going to attack him. These people won't understand that there are Chinese and Chinese; foolish, ignorant, prejudiced, thick-heads on the one hand, and on the other the scum of creation, hireling villaneous cut throats, sure of reward even if their lives are sacrificed after perjuring away the reputation of their foreign benefacters.

We hear that the French have no available troops at Saigon foreign. That would postpone any action on their part till October—almost too late in the season. On the other hand the Chinese have it that there are 2,000 English troops at Tientsin. Thus are a dozen or two of marines magnified. But let the hand-full of marines withdraw, and the "2,000 troops" will appear as having "fled" or been "all slaughtered" Mongol troops are reported as coming down from their native haunts. The Chinese have a just dread of these "meat eaters" themselves, and think the very mention of them enough to frighten the French. But the French declaration of war might easily be a week in Peking before being known to the other Legations; and a well informed official here says distinctly that the French will not pass this matter over lightly. Meantime it is apparently certain that France will have all to do, I have not heard what Russia will do. She can get satisfaction by a stroke of the pen as easily as to order 10,000 men round from 42°50' North Lat. I doubt whether she will fight. If she does, it will probably be a case of partition say making the Yangtse common and a boundary.

How blind the English speaking Legations are! Civilization and humanity have never hesitated between the cry of the English colonist and the American Tartar. It will not hesitate now between Christain and Asiatic, but will heartily say "Go on!" Should France and Russia decide: "We will ourselves see that your officials throughout the empire do no more of this horrible work. They will hereafter report to us alone. Retire upon what we leave you—bare life and living in Manchuria." England and America and Prussia, the great Protestant powers cannot deny the Romish and Greek Catholics leave to improve the people; and if they improve them off the face of the earth, as the Americans have done *their* Tartars, and as the corn cared for, always does the weed,—as the right always does the wrong, all the world will be as well pleased as they are to-day that English speakers think were Indian fishers smoked.

Chün-kwo-jui came north with an escort of 2000. Everybody understood that he came for our extermination; for be it remembered that 2000 troops dribbling ostentatiously through Shantung for 10 days would make a great impression. Their incendiary proclamations thus needed little planning. The Emperors Edict counts for a *double entendre* to stave off time. The "seat of the trouble" is that these scribbling diplomatists wrote five days after the massacre saying it was "all over and a purely accidental mob," and the account cannot now be re-opened except at the expense of this infallible, but untimely pen-birth. So if you find anything new, no matter how important, remember that so far as Peking is concerned, the debit side is closed.

We have been amused by several caricatures. Martin has been represented with his head under his right arm, hat in left hand, waiting at the door of the U. S. Legation, sending in his card, inscribed with his immortal sentiments at the American Meeting of 5th July, on the situation: "I should be in favour of waiting till I had a case. In asking for protection, it adds to one's position to have a tangible and material grievance for which to ask definite redress. It could be far easier for Mr. Low to recover for our loss of life or property when a definite case is submitted to him for his aid." Another cartoon contains 16 coffins in progress from Trieste to Paris one week ahead of Chung-How and Meadows. Another represents a grave as deep as Etna's passions have rolled out in 20 centuries; all Burlingame's "shining crosses" in the liquid fire; the spitting fury of Asiatic devilishness at bottom. Martin's International Law above the lava enough to fill the crater," all about the crater arms and legs, burned and boiled, children smothered, Sisters ravished, dirks, swords, spears, guns, and above all, some of Meadows' new light field pieces, defending the black and red flag of this most pious government from the assaults of Frenchmen, who would climb to the throats of these wretches, not honoring them with a death of powder and ball.

Yours ever for the truth and the right, and the future of both.

P. S.—The Chinese say some Mandarins are afraid to go home at nights, and sleep in their Yamens. I feel more secure now having settled my line of action, in case of trouble, viz: as *bee* a line out of Peking as the presence of women needing assistance will allow. But I expect our servants will leave us before we need to get on the move. It is objected to the theory of the Mahommedans having anything to do with the massacre that———had a Mahommenan convert to Christianity, and yet the whole force of the outbreak was not employed to kill the renegade. It is objected by budding diplomatists doing a little virgin cross-examination that as the man caught in the Protestant Church at Peking was not groaning under 144 gross of Bryant and May's Patent Safety matches *(Light only on the Box)* the story of incendiarism is only another figment of the disordered stomachs (no Legation student, with the fear of Wade before his eyes will allow *any* missionary *any* brains at all) of Lees Missionaries & Co.

We consider Tseng-kwo-fan's conduct the worst feature of all;—taking up the French Cemetery in.

stead of the cut-throats; rifling a graveyard to urge on a mob instead of seizing the ringleaders to quiet Tientsin. He is reported to be returning to Pau-ting-foo immediately. 50 or 60 tons of munitions of war were brought into the city on the eve of the 12th. They are removing them from Meadows' Arsenal to Tungchow, and thence to Peking. The packages all showed foreign superintendence. It is reported here that Chung-How is eating gold leaf. Hart's boy is very sick. The children have left the Sisters here, whether sent or taken away, I cannot say. The Mandarins have assured the Sisters that they are specially charged to keep them safe from harm.

Sister Louise, a british subject (*british* you observe with a small *b* as long as Williamson sleeps unavenged) will get as much thought of by these diplomatists, as the poorest thing that ever sinned and died. That's *English* representation at Peking. I am glad to see every body jumping on Meadows. I mistake the great English heart, if her representative at Peking does not get the same treatment from the high beating heart of old England, when she hears that even under the instructions of the manly Consul at Tientsin, he will not learn that there are times when outraged humanity makes ordinary ever-day selfishness a gallows' crime.

(From our Correspondent)

TIENTSIN, 20th July, 1870.

I HEAR on good authority that since Mr. Wade has learned that Sister Louise was a British subject, he has taken up the question warmly and has written home about it. When the Chinese notice this fact it may serve as a hint to them, if they want a fight, as some say, to commence next time at one of the larger Legations; then possibly the Governments may be tempted to take some action in the matter.

A gentleman who made M. Rochechouart's acquaintance when he was south last year, called on him on board the *Flamme* the other day. Rochechouart said he believed Tseng-Kwo-fan to be an honest upright man, and one who would always be found when wanted. He was reminded of what was said of his anti-foreign proclivities, and that wherever he had been, trouble to foreigners had followed. He still declared he *did not* believe him guilty in the present case, nor Chung-How either. The latter he said had had no power to act, and all those under him were against him. He therefore wanted all those under Chung-How punished; the remains of the Sisters buried with great pomp on the site of the old Consulate, with a monument over them in a clear open space which may be seen in all coming time; the Cathedral and Sisters' Hospital re-built and put in the same state as formerly. These things he said were settled for, what else would be wanted he would not know until he heard from home. Chung-How was to proceed to France, and on his return was to be accompanied by a Frenchman who would protect him and who would remain in China to see the terms of the agreement carried out. It is said Mr. Meadows is not to accompany Chung-How. He had called on Rochechouart who refused to receive him.

The French and British Admirals are both at Chefoo waiting instructions. Rochechouart did not telegraph at any length till the 20th and does not expect instructions for a fortnight yet. The first telegram by Grants' left here on the 22nd, and the first telegrams which arrive may bring an acknowledgment of their receipt at home, it being now 29 days since the massacre.

There were 10 Sisters murdered, but only 5 bodies have been recovered. It will be impossible,—at all events it will be a very unpleasant operation, to remove the bodies from their present resting place; and if removed many residents will be prevented from joining the funeral cortege who would wish to do so; and this again will be misunderstood by the Chinese. They talk about putting the present coffins into others larger and stronger. Why, some of the present ones are 9 feet long and 4 feet broad and high! They are apparently impatient to have a grand ceremony.

Mr. Lay British and French Consul here applied to the Chinese Government for a guard to send to Tsi-nan-foo for Mr. Sandrie, a French subject. A guard of 45 men and a colonel was granted, with a letter to the Governor-General of Shantung for permission to convey Mr. Sandrie back. He is the gentleman whose servants ran away from him, and who was threatened with death.

The Russian authorities are said to be convinced that the murder of their three subjects was an accident, they having been mistaken for French. They are therefore said to intend no action in the matter.

If this affair is to be patched up in the manner indicated in such rumours as the above, it will show the absolute necessity of having the telegraph brought to the door of the Legations where there may be incompetent or timid ministers, so that instructions may be received from home at once on any emergency. And having the telegraph we may do without these expensive Legations altogether. Commend the matter to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. A great saving would doubtless be effected by the change.

At present the Chinese believe that France will be afraid to declare war on account of the risk in which it would involve the 300 French priests in China. Chung-How ought to have a fair, but searching trial as to his complicity or non complicity in this matter; and if found guiltless so much the better for him. At present heaven and earth are being moved to bring him in, "Not guilty," without the facts of the case being at all known; and on the other hand, all under him are considered guilty, without any extenuating circumstance being allowed in their favour.

This is the latest phase of the situation, and apparently a far form satisfactory one. It behoves your journalists to watch it narrowly, and to give forth no uncertain sound on the issues involved.

TIENTSIN.

The *Chihli* which arrived from the north to day did not bring our usual correspondence, that having been put on board the *Manchu* which was detained at Chefoo taking in cargo. But we learn, on what seems reliable authority, that the *Manchu* brought on word to Chefoo that Rochechouart had at length begun to lay aside the garb of the mere diplomatist, and to adopt a course of vigorous action.

His first demand seems to have been that certain native Christian converts, who were known to be

imprisoned in or near the city of Tientsin, should be brought alongside the *Flamme* within a given hour. He then demanded that Tseng-kwo-fan should visit him on board the *Flamme*, and finally, he demanded that the head of the Chih-fu, the Chih-hsien and Tseng-kow-fan's Lieutenant-General (Cheng-kwo-jui?) should be brought to him by a certain time. The alternative in each case was the bombardment of the city.

In compliance with the first demand, the native converts were brought alongside the *Flamme*, half-an-hour before the appointed time had expired. The gentleman who told our informant alleged that he was an eyewitness of the ghastly spectacle which these poor persecuted wretches presented. There ears squeezed to pieces between slips of bamboo; their eyelashes cut off; their knees dislocated; their whole body bearing evidence of the fiendish ingenuity and cruelty that had been used to wring from them something to support the anti-foreign mania of their persecutors. It well be remembered that this representation is corroborated by the statement of one of our recent letters from Tientsin, that it was known that a number of Christian converts were being tortured in prison.

Tseng-kwo-fan visited Rochechouart on board the *Flamme* with remarkable punctuality to the time men enjoined. He was willing to deliver up the heads of the Chih-fu and Chih-hsien; but he refused to allow his Lieutenant to suffer. Whether he will persist in this refusal to the extent of subjecting the city to the dreadful ordeal of a bombardment, or whether Rochechouart will persevere in carrying out his ultimatum to the letter, remains to be seen. An unexplained point is whether this action of Rochechouart implies that he has been fortified and guided by telegraphic instructions from France or consultation with the Admiral at Chefoo. It was thought not unlikely at Tientsin, that the Chinese would man Taku forts and shut in the French, who are already up the river.

Shanghai.

Rumours as to the state of affairs to-day are somewhat confused. It seems a well authenticated fact that Capt. Winstanley and his foreign assistants at the Chinese training camp of Feng-wen-shan are leaving, and returning to Shanghai, some of them indeed are said to be already here. We have as yet had no explanation as to the cause, though the fact has not a re-assuring look. Chinese rumour reports that 2,000 troops are on the March from Soochow for Shanghai. Emissaries from the Taotai visited the settlement yesterday, apparently with the purpose of ascertaining the exact force, operations, and objects of our Volunteer movement. They also expressed a wish that our military demonstrations should be given up as having a tendency to unsettle the public mind. It is said on the other hand that Monday is the day agreed on for a rising of the Chinese against our Settlement; though with such a force as we can now muster ashore, and such a powerful flotilla as we can lay abreast of their unarmed city walls we can hardly imagine men so insane as to provoke a conflict. Besides the tone of the proclamations by the Viceroy and the Taotai, translations of which we give elsewhere, and which have been freely posted and much perused throughout the City and Settlement, is of a very re-assuring kind, and the whole action of our local authorities has every appearance of loyalty;—and is indicative, in fact, of apprehension rather than of menace. The wild talk of the tea shops has been evidently restrained, partly in consequence of the Proclamations, but partly also we are told, in consequence of two tea-shop politicians having been soundly flogged for not controlling their utterances regarding existing difficulties. We hear that the North-German frigate *Hertha* with her hundreds of hardy tars, and her heavy armament, will probably soon be added to the fleet at Shanghai. We may well therefore feel that there is nothing in the whole aspect of things to disturb our attitude of calm preparedness.

Letter to "Shanghai Evening Courier."

Dear Sir,—The following is the substance of a conversation which took place yesterday in the city between myself and a respectable Chinaman, as to the present aspect of affairs consequent upon the late massacre. A. is myself, B. the Chinese gentleman;

B. What about Tientsin affairs?

A. Nothing decided yet. The French community are waiting for orders from their Emperor.

B. What do *you* think will the Emperor say?

A. I have no idea.

A. If the French allow this matter to pass unnoticed, they will lose face amongst the Chinese.

A. What then do you think the best thing to be done?

C. Why, of course, to kill Chung-how!

A. But, people say that he is favourable to foreigners.

B. Ah! It is well known that he received a despatch from the Foo-tai ordering him to investigate the rumours current amongst the people about the missionaries, before the massacre took place; but he threw that despatch on one side, and would not inquire into the matter. If he had attended to his orders, the massacre could not, by any means, have taken place. The French ought to kill him, otherwise this matter can never be settled. If they allow him to escape, then all men will despise them, and more murders will take place.

So far as I can discover, there seems to be a general impression amongst the people in the city, that the mandarins are to blame for not preventing the late massacre.—Yours truly,

OUTIS.

Chinkiang.

Some uneasiness is apparent at this port and placards against kidnapping and the "Paper man" are again posted on the walls. Reports of an intended pillage of Messrs. Russell & Co's. Hulk, the *Governor General*, induced Captain Dunlop of the *Dove* to send a body of men on board on Saturday night, the junk men, of whom there are a number in the neighbourhood, being the suspected parties. No disturbance took place, however, but in consequence of representations to the American Consul by the Chinese officials, who declared themselves unable to protect Frenchmen against whom the people were said to be much irritated, Mr. Blancheton of the Customs, who was the only French subject at the port except missionaries, was advised to leave rather than risk bringing on a riot, and this gentleman therefore proceeded to Shanghai by the *Plymouth Rock*.

Cheng-Kwo-Shwai.

The above would be the spelling of the name 陳國瑞 according to Morrison's system, according to Wade's it would be Cheng-Kwo-Shuai. It has been commonly written Ching-Kwo-jui. The individual bearing this name is that lieutenant-general of Tseng-Kwo-fan, who within the last few weeks has acquired a bad pre-eminence among the Tientsin murderers, as having led on the fire-guilds who attacked the Hospital of the Sisters of Mercy.

From what appears to be a perfectly reliable Chinese source we have obtained the following particulars of his antecedents. He is a native of Hûpeh and of a temperament essentially enthusiastic. In his opening manhood he had serious thoughts of retiring from the world into monastic seclusion; but hesitating between the Buddhists and the Taouists, who each strove with jealous rivalry to secure him, he became disgusted with their squabbles, and threw himself with all the energy of his character into the vortex of political agitation. He was adopted by the celebrated Chinese General San-Ko-lin-sin, and during the war with England 1859—1860 proved himself the ablest of his lieutenants. Since then he has been actively engaged in subduing and extirpating the Nienfei of Honan. Latterly he lived for a considerable time in or near Yang-chow, and, undoubtedly, was at the bottom of the quasi-religious troubles which took place there two years (Sept. 1868) ago. He had previously boasted that he would give the foreigners a lesson they would remember. The humiliation to which that city was subjected as the result of those troubles, joined to the character he has everywhere acquired as a reckless agitator, makes the Yang-chowites view with apprehension the probability of his return to them. A mansion still remains hired for his use. When the Mahomedan successes were becoming very numerous in Shensi and Shanse in the beginning of the year, he was called by Li-Kung-pao, the generalissimo, to accompany him and take a command. He left Yangchow recently and visited Tseng-Kwo-fan at Pauting-foo.

We cannot refrain from expressing a hope that the issue of the Tientsin investigations may be to relieve the good folks of Yangchow once and for ever of any chance of his return. But such is his influence with Tseng-Kwo-fan and the other magnates of the Chinese party, that our informant declares that the Manchu government dare not give him up to deserved punishment. The public sentiment will force them to fight rather than do so. Nothing but a defeat so disastrous as to imply an overwhelming necessity, would reconcile the Chinese to such a measure.

The Christian Prisoners at Tientsin.

The following account of the treatment of the Christian prisoners by the Mandarins at Tientsin is on the authority of an eye-witness, who has seen and personally examined them since their release. So much care has been taken to avoid over-statement that, as we have reason to know from other sources, the narrative falls short of the whole truth.

There were 45 or 50 Christians arrested at the time of the massacre many of whom made their escape or were released on the same day through the intervention of friends and acquaintances. Those who were actually incarcerated at the office of the City Magistrate were 15, 8 men and 7 women, details as follows:—

1. The first was gate-keeper. He was an old man of 65 and had a white beard. In spite of his age he was dragged through the streets and beaten almost till his flesh mortified. At the Che-hsien's yamên he was so maltreated that gangrene made its appearance; he has now eight serious wounds and his life is dispaired of.

2. The gate-keeper of the Sisters, who was beaten, dragged through the dirt, and flung into the river, whence he was taken to the Yamên and put in irons without respect to his age. After the lapse of a month the running sores caused by the chains are still to be seen. The man is also suffering from 6 or 7 other wounds more or less serious, but his life is not in danger.

3. A Christian from the country who had arrived on the morning of the 21st June. Having boldly confessed his faith he was put on the rack, made to kneel on chains, received 200 blows of the bamboo and was finally burnt on the back with red hot irons. His wounds are also visible, but nearly cicatrised. Their number bear eloquent testimony to the rage of the mandarins and the executioners.

4. Another Christian from the country, subjected to treatment similar to the preceding.

5. A poor creature who was so drawn on the rack that his right foot is in a horrible state, more than thrice its natural size. Gangrene has set in, and maggots may be seen in an enormous cavity which has been formed. The doctor has decided that amputation is necessary to save this man's life.

6. The famous *Wang-sang*, arrested a little before the massacre as a sorcerer. Like all the rest he was accused of selling the hearts and eyes of children. It was the arrest of this man, in fact, which constituted the first act in the terrible drama of the 21st June. Tortured like all the others, like them also he persisted to the end in affirming that all the calumnies against the Sisters of Charity were nothing but absurd and senseless lies. His beard has been plucked out. He is still so terrified at th

dreadful sufferings he has been made to undergo, that he is like a person who has lost his reason.

7 and 8. Were not known to have been imprisoned until now; they are still at the yamen. The name of one is unknown; the other is the brave fellow who did not fear to throw a stone into the chair of the Chi-fu while he was exciting the people to the carnage, and who asked him "Why do you burn our church and massacre our fathers and our sisters!"

The first six Christians confessors of the faith were released on the 22nd July; and the mandarins, who ought at least to try to appease the anger of the Europeans and sooth the pains of these unfortunate people, were not ashamed to send them back without any kind of clothing, or with only a rag of cloth to cover their nakedness, and that after having left them 24 hours without food!

The female prisoners are seven in number, all taken at the house of the Sisters.

The first was assistant in their pharmacy, a widow of about 30. She also was conducted to the yamen of the Che-hsien, was cruelly beaten and thrown into a dungeon.

The remaining five, young girls of 18 to 22 years, were led to another place called Shoo-fan. Alas! it is known too surely that place had more horrors for them than the prison itself, and that they there, in all probability, lost by force what was dearer to them than life itself. Unhappily in spite of all efforts, and all entreaties of the French fathers, and all the eager promises of the new mandarins, these poor girls have not yet been given up to their families.

As for the 141 children from the orphanage of the Sisters, they also are in the hands of the mandarins; but it is hoped they will soon be released.

An English doctor who likewise had an opportunity of examining some of the prisoners, thus describes their state:—

"At the request of the French Minister 4 "Roman Catholic converts have been removed "from the yamên to the foreign settlement. "One is an old man over 60 years. They have "all been more or less tortured in various ways, "and present a perfectly horrible appearance; "their bodies fearfully emaciated and covered "with gangrenous sores, filled with maggots. "One man has been placed on a rack, and all "his joints cracked. Another has been beaten "so severely on the hands and feet that the "tendons are exposed.

"There are still in the yamên 3 men and 6 "women, (converts) but they are in such a "wretched state that the authorities dare not "move them. One of these women has had "needles driven underneath her finger nails, "and her body sprinkled over with drops of "boiling oil. Another, a young girl aged 16 "years, has had all her fingers chopped off by "small pieces.

"It is reported that they have suffered other "indignities too horrible for publication."

We have received for publication the following Correspondence in connection with an address of sympathy from the German-speaking community of Tientsin to M. Rochechouart the French Chargé d'affaires.

TIENTSIN, 21st July, 1870.

(*Translation.*)

Count Rochechouart, &c.

Monsieur le Comte

I have the honour to send you herewith an Address of the German Residents at Tientsin, regarding the events of the 21st June which I beg you to receive as an expression of our sympathy.

I avail myself M. le Comte of this opportunity to assure you of my high consideration.

(Signed) WENTZEL.

(*Translation.*)

TIENTSIN, 21st July, 1870.

To

Count Rochechouart

H. I. M.'s charge d'Affaires in China.

M. le Comte,

In view of the events of the 21st June, which have torn away so many unhappy victims from among your countrymen, the German Residents of Tientsin, being now enabled by your arrival from Peking to express their feelings to the chief representative of the French nation in China, are animated by a unanimous desire to express to you their most profound and cordial sympathy.

We feel the more prompted to do this, as the faithfulness shown by your Consul and Missionaries, in the fulfilment of their several duties has filled us with the most sincere respect, and we have always revered the beneficent activity and the zeal, regardless of sacrifice of the Sisters of Charity. At the same time we are fully aware of the community of interests which all foreigners have in these sad occurrences.

The undersigned beg of you, M. le Comte, kindly to bring this expression of our sympathy to the knowledge of your countrymen.

NINE SIGNATURES.

(*Translation.*)

TIENTSIN, 22nd July, 1870.

To P. Wentzel, Esq.,

Consul of the North German Confederation of Tientsin.

Monsieur le Comte,

I have received the the letter which you did me the honour to write me yesterday together with the Address which the German Community of Tientsin have sent me with reference to the events of the 21st June and the massacre, so sad for us, of 17 innocent French subjects.

It is certainly a great consolation, after such a cruel disaster, to feel one's self surrounded by so much sympathy. I hasten therefore, Monsieur le Consul, to tell you how deeply I have been affected by this act of your countrymen, which I will not fail to bring to the knowledge of my government. And I beg of you to act as my interpreter with them, in thanking them both for their interest in our grief and for their flattering praises of the courage and self-denial of the victims of this abominable outrage, which will, I hope, be punished in the way it deserves.

I avail myself of this opportunity to assure you etc.

(sigd.) ROCHECHOUART.

H. B. M. Consulate,
Tientsin, 20th July, 1870.

Sir,—I have been requested by H. B. M.'s Chargé d'Affaires, to ascertain the amount of damage sustained by British subjects during the late unfortunate troubles.

As I am aware that many of your Chapels were destroyed, and much valuable property lost; I have to request you, if you see fit, to have estimates made of the losses and send them to me, in order that they may be forwarded to the Chinese Authorities.

Your obedient Servant,
W. H. Lay,
Acting Consul.

Reply of Messrs. Lees and Hall to the foregoing Communication.

Tientsin, 21st July, 1870.

Sir,—We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your official letter to us, dated the 20th instant, touching the losses sustained by the Missions we represent, during the recent outrages.

We cannot but express our surprise, not only that at this early stage we should be required to state the amount of those losses, but that, prior to the settlement of the more important questions which are still pending, the subject of monetary compensation should be entertained at all.

Apart altogether from the fact that we are yet uncertain as to the action which will be taken at the present crisis,—almost certainly by the French, and possibly even by our own Government—action which it might be as useless as it would be impolitic for us to forestall by consenting to any unsatisfactory condonation of the crimes which have been committed; it can hardly be necessary to remind you that until peace has been definitely secured, there are various items of loss for which we should feel it to be our duty to claim compensation, the limits of which can hardly yet have been reached. Such is the utter disorganisation of this city and neighbour-hood, that all mission work must, in all likelihood, be suspended for months to come. Our respective staffs are thus thrown upon our hands. Our country converts, both in this province and in Shantung, are everywhere expecting new outbreaks, in their various districts. Native Christians in the city continue to be daily exposed to spoliation and personal injury, while there is every reason to fear that our own appearance in the streets would still be fraught with danger.

With respect to our chapels, we fear that, however willing we might be to meet the wishes of His Excellency it is not possible for us to do so. Our converts hardly dare linger in the neighbourhood of the ruins; what hope can there be, then, that we visit them in safety, or procure builders estimates as to the cost of re-erection, not to speak of any actual attempt at restoration? Our deliberate conviction is, that such an attempt would only end in their renewed destruction, even if workmen could be found brave enough to undertake the task.

Will you forgive our expressing an anxious desire, not to be separated from our suffering French brethren, in any settlement of these unhappy troubles. This is not a mere question of sentiment. We cannot but feel that the interests of our country are involved in what has occurred. We are British subjects, resident here under the protection of treaties, and engaged in the prudent prosecution of our lawful calling. Our lives have been sought, our property has been destroyed, our converts grievously injured, and our characters assailed. Moreover, there seems good reason to believe, that at least one of the murdered Sisters was a British subject. There cannot be the slightest doubt upon the mind, of anyone who has been brought much into converse with the people, during the last few weeks, that the original design was to treat all nationalities alike. It is easy to understand why the mandarins are now anxious to produce a different impression. But just as the excuses which unhappily served them so well, in regard to the outrages at Formosa, Yangchow, and elsewhere, fail them now, so should the evident falsity of their present professions of special friendship with ourselves, fail to separate us from those allies with whose interests our own so evidently are bound up.

We beg you will not mistake us. We are not crying for war and vengeance, but we do claim justice, and we hold most firmly to the belief, that the path of safety and of honour, no less for individual Englishmen, than for our Government, is to stand by our fellow-sufferers in the hour of trial. Nay, more, we believe this, for obvious reasons, to be the most merciful line of action in reference to the Chinese themselves.

We scarcely know whether we ought to apologise for venturing to express such views, for we hope that they find an echo in your own and every other heart. We have only, therefore, respectfully to assure you that we shall strive to meet, as soon as possible, the wishes of H. B. M. Chargeé d'Affaires, and to request you to represent to him our difficulties in the matter.

We are, Sir,
Your most obdt. Servants,
Jonathan Lees,
London Mission ary Society.
William N. Hall,
Methodist Mission ary Society.

To W. H. Lay, Esq.,
H. B. M. Consul.

Tientsin.

(From our Correspondence.)

Count Rochechouart came by boat from Tungchow escorted by the prefect till near Tientsin, when Chung-How sent a guard. The French flag was carried all the way.

Two gentlemen wishing to go on business to the French side got a mounted mandarin from Chung-How to accompany them. They were taken a back way and not over-pleasantly received by the people.

The French were to have removed their dead from the British to the French cemetery, but Chung-How recommended some delay as things were not yet quite quiet.

The Chinese had a report that the *Suwonada* had arrived at Taku with 1000 French troops; the result was a panic in the city, the rich people

flying to Peking and elsewhere, and 60 passengers were booked by the *Chihli*.

Mr. Lay H. B. M. Consul sent a circular on the 20th to the British residents stating that the city is now considered safe for British subjects to visit on their usual business, but earnestly cautioning them to avoid all reference to the past, and neither by word nor look to give any offence to the Chinese. The notification is believed to be still premature.

Tsêu-kwo-fan has paid a visit to Count Rochechouart, not however until he was reminded of his duty. Tseng called at Mr. Lay's while Rochechouart happened to be there, but the latter declined to adopt Tseng's suggestion to consider the visit as paid to him. When the interview did come off, it was not particularly pleasant, Tseng-kwo-fan in excusing the people for their rudeness, remarked they would show better how to behave themselves in three years' time, hinting, it is supposed, at their military training. It is reported that Rochechouart openly taxed Tseng-kwo-fan with the current rumours to the effect that he himself instigated the massacre: the Vice-roy vehemently denied the fact.

THE CAUSES OF THE RECENT OUTBREAK.

TIENTSIN, 20th July, 1870.

To the Editor of the

SHANGHAI EVENING COURIER.

SIR,—That the massacre at Tientsin, and the outrages which preceded it in other parts of the Empire are in some way connected, can hardly by questioned by any one well acquainted with these matters, and who is conversant also with the state of feeling and modes of expression common among the people.

That these acts of violence and bloodshed, with which, thanks to the criminal apathy of civilized governments, we have become too sadly familiar in China, and which will still not have reached their climax unless the innocent blood now shed should rouse the spirit which once made 'Civis Romanus sum' a word of power even upon an Englishman's lips:—I say, that these outrages are not simply the work of the people, and proofs, as we are so often told, of their bitter and invincible hostility to us, is also beginning to be understood both here and in Europe. The fact may still be doubted by those who meet few except the officials and the literati, it will probably continue to be rigorously denied by those who take their inspirations from the yaméns, but it is true nevertheless, and should be stated and re-stated in all its naked simplicity and pregnant meaning. The *people, left to themselves*, are *friendly* to foreigners. Many amongst us, who have travelled extensively among them, and had numberless opportunities of meeting them, both in city and country, have enjoyed too may proofs of their kind and even hospitable spirits to doubt it. There *is no such thing* as an innate and national feeling of hatred to us. It is true that the *appearance* of such a feeling can be got up to order. Any man even moderately familiar with the structure of Chinese society, and above all, with the terrorism exercised by the yamens, can easily understand this. Let the word go forth from their superiors, let libellous stories be set afloat respecting us, and—the real authors of the mischief keeping carefully in the back ground—the ignorant and misguided masses, among whom not a few of the so-called literati must be numbered, will rise in bitter hostility. But, with the exception of the dangerous classes, which abound in every country to the dread of good citizens,—the people are glad to be recalled to peace and order, and are unquestionably every year becoming more and more disposed to recognise and welcome intercourse with foreign nations, as helpful and even necessary to them. The foolish suggestion of a late writer in the "Cycle" that the introduction of machinery and especially of steamers may have helped to cause the Tientsin tragedy, is only another proof of the obtuseness of men of his class. It is notorious that in the north, at any rate, the influence of such innovations has been eminently and evidently good, and that numbers would deprecate their removal.

We are thus brought face to face with the fact that to the ruling classes, or more properly, to a considerable and powerful section of these, we are indebted for our repeated troubles, and for all the difficulties which impede the civilization and evangelisation of the country. And it is no small addition to the mortification which such a fact is fitted to inspire, that it is but yesterday that we were fighting in the interests of these very men, and that they are actually indebted to us for their continued possession of the power which they use so basely.

Still, it is perhaps possible that the present outrages have another origin.

It is possible that the riots at Yangchow, Nanking, and Hankow, and the murders in Tientsin, Formosa and Szechuen have been due to other influences. It is possible that the Chinese Government is anxious to observe its treaty obligations, and can hardly be held responsible for these things. I say it is *possible*: whether the evidence already at our command points to such conclusions is another matter.

Now Sir, it appears to me, that if properly sustained at the present crisis, the public press may be able to render most important aid in eliciting the real significance of these events, and their probable bearing upon all who have any facilities for gaining accurate information to use those facilities to the utmost and to publish the facts so obtained, that I now write. It has hitherto been the fashion to represent insult and injuries to foreigners either as mere local riots, the expression of popular feeling, or, at most, as the work of over zealous anti-foreign officials whose conduct the government disapproved, but could with difficulty control. The extraordinary state of things now existing must give a rude shock to such theories. Events of great moment are occuring in such rapid succession as to be almost synchronous—have they, or have they not a common origin? Can we trace them to some one influence? How far are the circumstances and the antecedent and subsequent action of officials alike in each case?—This is a large question, and which to be adequately dealt with, will need a large induction of facts.

I would venture to suggest two lines of enquiry which may be pursued jointly. The one is founded

upon the assumption that these occurrences are due simply to the hatred of the anti-foreign party throughout the empire, while the root of all the evil must be sought in the capital itself;—the other rests upon the fact that even foreign alliances have not yet succeeded in re-establishing the tottering dominion of the Manchus, and that it is quite conceivable that astute revolutionary leaders may be willing to use foreign bayonets to weaken the government they wish to overthrow. It would take too long to indicate how these two lines of enquiry should be prosecuted. But with regard to the first I may hint that it is reported—with what truth I know not.—

(a) That the leading members of the pro-foreign party in Peking are out of office.

(b) That there has been, singularly enough, a genera issue of questionable proclamations throughout the Empire having reference to kidnapping.

(c) That every where, the crime is now connected with foreigners.

(d) That, unless overawed by the immediate dread of consequences, as at Yentai and else-where, the conduct of the mandarins in reference to the feeling thus excited has been similar to that in Tientsin. Such points certainly deserve examination.

With regard to the second, it may be enough to remind you.—

(a) Of the large Mahomedan element in the population.

(b) Of the unity and evident organization which so remarkably charcterise the sect.

(c) Of the successful insurrections in the Western provinces; and,

(d) Of the enormous advantage which the leaders of these movements would secure if they could embroil the Tartar government with some foreign power, and so compel it to draw off its forces from the contest with themselves.

It is only fair to add that this latter is the explanation most in favour with many intelligent natives who are friendly to foreigners. They strongly suspect the present troubles to be due to the action of Mahommedan agents. They found their opinion upon the facts just alluded to, and also upon the prominent part taken by local Mahommedans in the outrages here. The fact that all the kidnappers as yet executed in the north, are represented as Shantung men is moreover looked upon by some as indicating that the 'evil rumours' emanate from an organization having its headquarters in that province. Additional significance may perhaps be given to this suggestion by the undoubted fact that the events of the fatal 21st June were the subject of popular converse—in short, foretold—in Shantung ten days before they took place. Hints like these may not be without value.

If asked for my own opinion, I should say 'Both influences may be at work.' It may be that able as he undoubtedly is, Tseng-kwo-fan and his compeers are to some extent the unconscious tools of others. But it must be alike our interest and our duty to endeavour to arrive at the truth. And whatever be the origin of these atrocities, common sense demands that such decisive measures shall be at once taken to vindicate the sanctity of foreign life as shall convince both the rulers and people of China that it can no longer be taken with impunity. A Chinaman said to me only this morning "A few years ago no one durst kill a *dog* which was the property of a foreigner, now even the Christian ministers are killed, and no notice is taken of it, See what is the result." He was alluding to the murder of may late beloved colleague Mr. Williamson. Was he wrong in his deduction?

Yours obediently,
JONATHAN LEES.

THE following translation of a notification, issued by the Chinkiang Taoutai in connection with kidnapping, shews the the state of feeling which has been prevailing in that neighbourhood and the measures taken to allay it.

Supposing the document to represent a fact, we cannot help thinking that like success would have crowned the efforts of officials in other quarters—had they acted with the same promptness as the Taoutai of Chinkiang.

Shên, by Imperial appointment Military Intendant of the Changchow, Chinkiang, T'ungchow and Haimên circuit, issues the following important proclamation.

The Taotai having occasion to inquire into alleged cases of kidnappers committing robberies, and relying on their numbers, beating people, sent orders to the Chih-fu and Chih-hsien to investigate the matter. A few days ago four men were apprehended in the western side of Tant'u district and brought before the magistrate. On examination however, they proved to be police in the employ of the Foreign Opium Tax office (or guild) and in no way connected with the kidnappers, so on finding security they were immediately released.

Though at present quietness prevails throughout this entire Circuit, the Taotai fears some rascals may make a handle (of the kidnapping stories) to excite the populace and may seize innocent persons with a view to obtain the reward offered for the apprehension of kidnappers, thus creating disturbances. This proclamation is therefore issued, warning all to attend to their own business and forbidding anyone to circulate rumours or seize innocent persons or cause them inconvenience.

Let each obey with trembling. An important and special proclamation.

T'ung-Chih, 9 year 6 moon 23rd day.

A SPECIAL correspondent writes:—

Tientsin, 26th. July 1870.

The following news I believe to be reliable.

Nine bravo-chiefs have been arrested by Tseng-kwo-fan, without the help of soldiers, by men sent by the new Taotai, Chi-fu and Che-hien. Four of them are from the east side of the river (where the salt depots are,) the names of three being *Ho-urh*, *Ho-sze and Hao-pa*. The other five are from the bad nighbourhood between the northen boat-bridge (on the Peking Road) and the *Ku-i-chieh* (High Street.)

My Chinese informants assert that the Chi-fu and Chi-fu and Chi-hsien have not run away: they are said to be in custody, and about to be sent in chains to Peking to be delivered to the *Hsing-pu* (Board of Punishments) for trial. This would be a pretty severe

proceeding according to Chinese ideas, as officials do not generally come under the Hsing-pu but under the *Lipu* (Board of Administration) for disciplinary punishment. But I do not think the French will be satisfied with this.

As to the famous Cheng-kwo-jui's (or Cheng-kwo-shwai) present whereabouts I have been able to ascertain nothing. He is a man of great note in China and his hostility to foreigners is admitted by all my Chinese acquaintances. An English Missionary told me yesterday that he had heard from some of his people that the Chinese on the French Consulate side of the river had raised a great talk about two Europeans having come there in chairs, remarking: "Only look, these foreigners think they can come here again, but we will do for them yet." When we visited Tientsin city last Sunday, the looks of the people certainly did not betray fear. Every now and then a single Chinaman would step boldly up to my chair and stare at me with a look which said: "you are not afraid to come amongst us again. Dont think we are afraid of you."

I have always been convinced that two deep-rooted Chinese superstitions are mixed up with the present troubles.

1. That there is a change either for better or worse in the affairs of States every 10 years. In Chinese novels, when soothsayers prophesy any great disaster or the reverse, and are asked: When will this take place, the invariable answer is: Ten is the full number. Before 10 years have fully elapsed this thing will happen. And my teacher invariably remarked on reading this "*yu-li, yu-li*; that's reasonable." The last war with China was *ten* years ago. By the way: 21st June this year fell on the 23rd day of the 5th moon. The 23rd day of the 5th moon 1860 corresponded with our 11th July. Did anything happen on the 11th July 1860 which the Chinese would have particular reason to resent?

2. In Chinese chronology *three* cycles of 60 years form *one* large epoch of time. According to Chinese ideas, during the first cycle disorder and disasters are common; the second cycle is the period of glory for the Empire; in the third cycle its fortune decays again. The Taiping rebellion and the wars with the Western Powers took place during the first cycle, some 3 or 4 years since we entered on the second cycle, and China begins consequently to recover her ancient strength. I learned the above from my teacher in 1858 when nobody anticipated what has recently occurred.

TIENTSIN, 20*th July*, 1870.

(From our Correspondent.)

I have no connected narrative to give you;—mere jottings of rumours and reasonings. On the first news of the massacre reaching Peking, it is said that the Ministers wrote to the Tsungli-yamen that they would bring in troops: they were implored not to do so, and a guarantee given that all would be settled &c; so they promised that no troops should be landed. Rochechouart, it is said, considers Chunghow not guilty even of apathy. It is said that both Mandarins and troops refused to obey his orders, so that he was powerless. Supposing this pretty story to be true what a nice state of things in China does it disclose! Here has been a man among us for the last ten years, believed to be supreme and absolute, and the only one here who had the power of life and death. He has not unfrequently exercised his power as in the Shantung missionary affairs, when a proclamation from him quieted everything. But here when so many lives are dependent on his action, he takes no action; does not even use the common courtesy to reply to the British Consul's repeated despatches, bringing the state of affairs to his notice. And now when all is over, for the present, he alleges he was powerless to act,—powerless even it would seem to give any information respecting the storm that was brewing. On the following day (22nd June) he offered to send down to the foreign settlement for our *protection*, 600 of the same troops, who on the previous day had refused to obey him! Had the poor man lost his senses, as well as his command over his subordinates and soldiers; or is the whole of it a pretty story which his friends are concocting on his behalf?

In further extenuation of Chung-How Rochechouart is reported to have said that he had a letter from Fontanier written only half-an-hour before the massacre, and that judging from it, M. Fontanier did not seem to fully apprehend the danger he was in. It would have been very wonderful if he had done so. There is a rumour also that Chung How and Tseng-kwo-fan are not on friendly terms. It is said that lots of troops are on their way to Tientsin and Taku and that for some days small parties of soldiers have been entering Tientsin. Large quantities of ammunition are also being collected, the last addition being 1,000 stand of arms per *Nanzing* from Shanghai.

July 23rd.

I send you an official report of the condition in which some Chinese Catholic converts were found who at the request of the French Minister were brought alongside the *Flamme* from the Mandarin's prison to which they had been consigned after the massacre. The description cannot fail to shock your readers, and make even the female portion of them wish to arm against such cruel monsters. If accounts like these will not rouse to action foreign governments, what will do it? What a farce to send out missionaries at the expense, not to say of many thousand pounds, but of their own lives and those of their converts, if no steps are to be taken to put an end to such barbarous cruelties. The authorities cannot say in this case, that it was the mob; for these converts have been all the time in the Yamen of the Chehsien, a fact which must have been known to all the mandarins.

It is reported that Mr. Meadows has written to Minister Low, complaining of Rochechouart's treatment of him in not receiving him when he called. Rumour also has it the Im-

per'al Arsenal is to be stopped for a time. It is also said that at the interview with' Tseng-kwo-fan, Rochechouart told him he believed the affair to be a political one and that it was currently reported that Tseng-kwo-fan was at the head of it. On hearing this, Tseng-kwo-fan is said to have jumped off his seat, crying in great surprise "Me!!" and of course, utterly denying it. I believe Rochechouart is coming to the opinion that the Mohamedans had to do with the affair.

PEKING.

July 25th.

The following is an extract of a letter from Peking received this forenoon :—

"I had a warm discussion with——about Tient-"sin affairs. He said no Christian could speak "as I had done; we should remember they are "heathens &c. I told him they considered them-"selves the polite and civilized people and us "the barbarian and heathen: that we are now "on the horns of a dilemma. If the French do "nothing, life is no longer safe here without a "large force; and in any case within a year we "should have a repetition of the Tientsin mas-"sacre. Then if the French do anything, we are "likewise in danger here, as you well say "like "rats in a trap" (I did not say so to him;) we "shall be taken as hostages. The French for "our sakes and for the sake of their own peo-"people in the interval, must do nothing hur-"riedly and rashly. But it is of no use arguing "with our peace at any price friends, who for-"get that their present privileges are owing to "a war, which at that time they probably "disavowed likewise. Diplomatists here will "find an excuse for any enormity the Chinese "may commit. *O tempora! O mores!* We are verily fallen on evil days. I would rather a thousand times trust myself to the Chinese pure and simple, than to our own officials, from whom in fact we get no support; we live simply on the sufferance of the Chinese. We are quietly told that if it had been only merchants and Missionaries, England would probably have done nothing. But an English *Consul*, that certainly would be something different. The shepherds thus are everything; we poor sheep are nothing in the eye of the diplomatist. I was glad to see the matter ventilated in the *Evening Courier*. Meadows is a harmless biped, but it is from officials that our respective governments derive their information. Every fact that can be got hold of ought to be printed. Public opinion ought to be awakened and informed. Our representatives ought to get a rap over the fingers for their ignorance and indifference. "They made up their mind hastily and "won't change them now. This is thoroughly "Chinese; never to diverge from the opinion "first formed, but stick to it. It is for the "busy bees" of the press to collect such a mass "of information as cannot be gainsayed."

"Poor Meadows, how has the mighty fallen! "He had better quit the country now. It is a "pity that our position here prevents us from "serving some folks in a similar way. But we "have some hope in the power of an honest and "well-informed press. I hope a tremendous "feeling may be aroused at home. We must "have Taku, Tientsin and Peking well protect-"ed this winter. People here with families "have grave doubts about spending the winter "here, unless something be done to give us "some security. I believe many will move off. "Rumours are rife here, and Kidnappers are "being apprehended. This is now a common "epithet hurled at one in the street, and at the "converts.' "There go the Kidnappers."

In a postscript the above correspondent adds: "Dr.———said to-day (strange for him!) that a thunder cloud might break over us any moment. He fears war I suppose."

The same gentlemen who went up to town ten days since, again visited it two days ago. On telling Chung-How that they were going he sent with them four mounted mandarins and one not mounted. When they got close to the narrow streets they were joined by ten soldiers, apparently as a guard; they seemed unarmed, but may have had their weapons under their loose clothes. The gentlemen did not wish them to go with them, but they said they had strict orders not to lose sight of them. Is this escort a sign of fear lest the people should rise afresh on foreigners? The Protestant converts report that when coming in from the country they saw a great many soldiers coming in towards Tientsin.

These converts have been of the greatest assistance to us in bringing information; without them we would have been greatly in the dark as to what was going on. I have not heard of a single convert having deserted their standard; and this speaks volumes for them, and for the labours of the missionaries during the last nine years in "the Tientsin Vineyard." The Catholics also both before and after their tortures stood up for the faith. With Ministers such as Wade, Low & Co., no ways desirous of information themselves, we should have been badly off, but for our Missionaries and their converts.

Wade was expected here to-day, but I have not yet heard of his arrival. It was intended to have had a meeting to-day of the Ministers Admirals &c., &. Rochechouart is reported as intending to return to Peking in a few days, to deliver, it said, his ultimatum. Telegrams from England *via* Kiachta do not yet mention the massacre, but there is one announcing the death of Lord Clarendon.

The Yamen has sent down to the French Fathers 138 children, and have given them a building belonging to the Customs about a mile below the Settlement and close under the fort. They have been placed in charge of some women who were also saved. I have not yet heard

of the female French converts having been given up, though no doubt they will be so soon. There are still a number of children missing, some of whom are known to have been stolen, and the missionaries know where some of them are.

A gentleman living in the city whose partner is at present absent writes. :

"If I were alone I should certainly have all my "valuables removed. Some of my servants up "town are now in a greater funk than ever. "And the prospect of a prompt and satisfactory "settlement seems very far off; while if no de- "cisive steps are taken soon, it surely won't be "safe to remain here during the winter." Compare this with the extra guard to the two gentlemen, and consider what the result portends. The French officers still blame Rochechouart for his inaction, and seem to think he is in a great measure guided by the other ministers. If he has not the power to make the Chinese give up the heads of the three mandarins he named; viz: the Che fu, the Che-hsien and Cheng-kwo-shwai, he has made a great mistake. The Chinese will not give them up and to them; it is nothing less than a declaration of war. The Chinese all this time are having the best of it. Their troops are concentrating around Taku, and at the signal will take possession of both places and declare war themselves when they are ready. The Chinese won't trouble themselves much about Wheaton's International Law, it is only brought out when a foreign nation breaks the law; then comes forth the learning connected with it, and who so able to expound it as its worthy translator at Peking, the President of the college!

THE *Peking Gazette* of July 24th contains the following Edicts in relation to the Tientsin massacre :—

Tseng-Kwo-fan and Chunghow memorialize Us reporting the main features of their inquiry into the outbreak at Tientsin. They state that having stringently investigated the question relating to drugging and kidnapping on the part of the Christians, [it is found that] although Wang San has indeed confessed having administered drugs to Wu-Lan-siu, his confession has nevertheless alternated with denial, and there is moreover no actual evidence of instigation on the part of the Mission. The hundred and fifty odd male and female children found at the Jen-Tsze-Tang all state that they were sent by their parents to the establishment in question to be brought up, and nothing in the shape of being kidnapped has taken place. As regards the matter of digging out the eyes and scooping away the heart, Tseng-Kwo-fan has himself, on his arrival at Tientsin, made the most careful inquiry, and the people have been unable to establish the authenticity of the charge. On inquiry being made in the city and neighbourhood of Tientsin, moreover, no cases have been ascertained of complaint being lodged with regard to missing children. The circumstances in this case resemble those in the provinces of Hu-nan and Kiangse, at Yang-chow, Tien-men, and Ta-ming-fu and Kwang-ping-fu in Chih-li, at all of which places missives and placards have been extensively made public in a variety of ways. At all these places respectively the difficulties have been terminated, but the truth or falsity of the missives and placards has never been placed in a proper light. The people of Tientsin, continually hearing the statements of these missives and placards, have given credence to them, and further more, owing to the circumstance that the doors of the foreign missionary establishment were barred from one year's end to another and that underneath the Cathedral (*Jen Tsze Tang*) there existed vaults, which were intended to keep off damps and for the storage of coal,—as also that sick persons undergoing treatment were detained within, and that destitute people and those on the point of death were taken in, they harboured suspicions of which they could not divest their minds. It so happened in the fourth and fifth moons of this year that the kidnapping of certain persons by means of drugs took place, and the Mission was dragged into connection therewith. The people saw the Consul Fontanier discharge his pistol at the officials, and thereupon a clamour arose from ten thousand voices, and all rose simultaneously. The truth is that the reports about scooping out eyes and hearts, and putting individuals to a cruel death are for the most part baseless calumnies, and have no actual foundation whatever. Thus far the tenor of the Memorial.

In this matter We have repeatedly enjoined upon Tseng-kwo-fan to co-operate with Chung-how in taking action strictly in accord with the principles of justice, and the said Viceroy with his colleague now report to Us that these matters are all idle rumours. The source of the suspicions aroused in the minds of the people of Tientsing being clearly manifest in the eyes of all, if similar reports and popular suspicions should arise at any localities in the Provinces, it will be possible to some extent to dissipate them also. As regards the drugging and kidnapping of individuals by evil-minded persons, the penal enactments directed against this practice do not lack severity, but it may be feared that through lapse of time the law has become disregarded; and We command the Board of Punishments therefore, in all cases where malefactors of this class are brought to trial, to pronounce a sentence of aggravated severity; and henceforward throughout the Empire whenever criminals guilty of drugging and kidnapping are apprehended, let the crime be punished with additional severity in accordance with the decision arrived at by the Board of Punishments, in order that murderous destruction of life may be repressed. At the capital, as the chief centre of good order, it is still more needful that evil-doers be sought out and arrested; and We enjoin upon the commanders of the metropolitan constabulary that constant efforts be directed to this end, and that any offenders of this description be at once apprehended and handed over to the Board of Punishments to be dealt with severely.

Respect this!

Tseng-Kwo-fan memorializes Us stating that Chang-kwang-tsao, Prefect of Tientsin, and Liu-kieh District Magistrate of Tientsin, in dealing with the matter of the hostile collision between the people and the Christians, were neglectful as as regards precaution before the affair took place, and, after it had occurred, shewed themselves

further incapable of promptly apprehending the offenders, on which grounds he solicits that these two officials be stripped of their rank and subjected to punishment. We ordain hereupon that Chang-kwang-tsao and Lin-kieh (the *Chih fu* and *Chih-hsien*) be at once stripped of their rank and handed over to the Board of Punishment for adjudication of their offence. Let the Board take note hereof.

Respect this!

WE are again able to present our readers with selections from a letter received by a gentleman from a friend at Peking.

PEKING, 20*th July*, 1870.

* * * * * * * Cheng-kwo-Shwai is living in the Chinese city here. In the Peking Gazette of the 16th instant, we have the details of a kidnapping case *without comment*. But it is a most significant fact that of the numerous cases of that crime which are reported from *all* quarters at present, the compilers of the Gazette should at such a crisis as this select a case said to have occurred in the *Ha Ta men* (great street) where foreign Missionaries chiefl reside. The consequence is that whether the selection was made by moony, underling-led mandarins, or was the result of artful design, that Gazette has gone far to neutralise any effect the Edict No. 2 of a fortnight ago may have had towards discouraging the idea of the connection of foreigners with kidnapping.

The fruit of this I have myself slightly experienced, having been to-day called a *kidnapper* no less than four times in the street; and a friend was nearly involved in more serious consequences. He was passing along the street when a child accidentally followed in his track, which being observed by the natives, they made a tumultuous rush to the child's rescue, believing he was being "led away" by the foreigner. For to the disturbed imaginations of an ignorant people, plied with mischievous rumours and proclamations, the sight near a foreign quarter, of a foreigner closely followed by a Chinese young person, is proof positive of a case of kidnapping. Yesterday a boy belonging to Mr Elkins' mission was taken to the Yamen as a kidnapper. Mr. Welmann went to watch the case. After a night's detention he was released, it being found that his crime had consisted in *playing* at kidnapping with another child in a mud puddle, with a basket of tea in his hand to represent the dreaded philtre!

A well known Englishman was accosted the other day by the soldiers on their camp-ground outside the west gate: "We are going to kill you" said they. "Why don't you begin then?" replied English pluck. It is probably not generally known that a week was allowed to elapse before the American Consul at Tientsin sent an account of the massacre to his Legation at Peking. In the interval a distinguished member of the Legation elaborated the following exquisite bit of logic. "It could not be much of an affair when the French Consul could get coolies to carry his chair to Chung-How's Yamen." Of course it could not. For how could the Consul go to the Yamen, but in a chair? and how in a chair, if he could get no coolies? Therefore you have had no trouble at all. So be quiet, will you? And when at length the *Courier* supplied him with the first account of the affair that could be had beyond what his *worthy* subordinate at Tientsin had sent, and a friend proferred him the paper he replied: "I dont want to read any account of it; my mind is made up"

A. B C. F. M. in answer to the U. S Legation (turned Counsel for the murderers, for this time only) replied that a blow that only slashed their breast pocket could well stand over till the crying murder of the French had first been dealt with, and that they would *not* insult the dead by sending in a bill for soiled apparel and accoutrements even though ordered to do so. They would choose a *decent* time for that business. It is well understood by all free-born Americans that in reference to this matter they are to say nothing of "danger" or "defence," no matter how closely the knife may graze them. For the dear offender is affected by St. Vitus's dance and "*is weak at the extremities*" and sometimes cuts people's throats when he only meant to shave off their ears, and so is not responsible except for the actual cost of replacing the bloody shirt collars. And in every case where life has been taken the government will make the extraordinary concession of allowing the victims Christian burial, merely reserving to the Mandarins an official digging up and inspection. Surely this should appease the loudest cry for reparation.

Who will quarrel with the Missionaries because they refuse to tell how many cash they will take to settle the grossest outrage the nations of the West have ever received in the East? Quarrel with them! Let the people left living in Tientsin unite in thanking them, and let the English speaking people especially, join in thanking Mr. Consul Lay for his manly attitude on their behalf, *when they had no one else to look to*. The idea to which you drew my attention some time ago, that the French and the Mandarins were at daggers drawn about the practical working of the Extra-territoriality doctrine in the interior of China, as to whether the jurisdiction over Catholic converts was vested in the priests, or in the Mandarins—this idea gets confirmation from an old teacher here. In speaking of this last stroke of the Mandarins against the French, he spontaneously spoke of the jurisdiction difficulty as the principal cause. At the same time he scouted the idea of its being the work of the mob or of the guilds, except as they were deliberately put in motion by the higher powers, and that for a definite purpose. The French alone have claimed special privileges for their converts; the French alone have been attacked. Let Protestants make similar pretensions and they will fall into similar troubles.

The murdered Sisters were, 2 Belgian, 2 Italian, 1 English, and the rest (4) French. These martyred ladies are China's true ambassadors to the powers and peoples of the West. Had I the ordering of their voyage, I would first send them through America, to lie in state for 7 days in the chamber where, three years ago, a deceived Congress rose to receive their ravishers and murderers. Thence under the escort of the slumbering thunders of the navies of Christendom, would I transport them to St. Stephen's Hall, sure that, not to speak of the womanly sympathies of the Sovereign Lady, the sight of them would awaken even in the pacific breasts of Gladstone and Bright, some scintillations of the chivalry of Cœur de Lion. And mid the tears and honours by which their progress would be thus delayed, I doubt not that by the time I ushered them into the Imperial presence of him, who has specially assumed the function of "nursing father" to their Church, I

should find the object of their embassy already accomplished, in the unanimous determination of the civilized world to erect in China a "perpetual memorial" of the utter wickedness of those by whose hands they died;—a token of the "everlasting remembrance" in which they shall be held; and to prevent the possibility of such outrages being renewed, by insisting on obtaining for a great, but degraded nation, the opportunity of having brought within their reach all the elevating influences of a living and progressive civilization.

I have heard that on or about the 17th inst., there was here something like what we would call at home a "Ministerial crisis" in which the anti-foreign party were within an ace of getting a dominant control of the government of the country. Whether the report that Prince Kung, after an "indisposition" of some months, is again about to resume his duties, has anything to do with this matter, I do not know; but the party of progressive tendencies are reported to be more firmly seated than they were five days ago, and the crisis of the moment is considered over. Whether their seat is secure enough to carry them through the excitement that would arise should France declare War, is another affair; and I confess that the bearings of the question are beyond me. I do not know the moves. But I should expect any government that just tided over the crisis of a war-feeling, to succumb after war has been declared. But remember all the above is hearsay, and may be only a *speculation* of our "learning-mad" sinologues.

Perhaps you may have already heard that the French Chargé was last summer directed to demand the right of audience, and in case of refusal a special envoy would have been sent with an army to back him. This was *last summer*. But owing to the action, or non-action, of the British Government, jealously solicitous that everybody else should be smothered in the same Burlingame mire as themselves, it fell through. The above will perhaps shed some light on the probable action of France in the present altered circumstances.

(From our Correspondent-)

TIENTSIN, 28th July, 1870.

IT is reported that Tseng-Kwo-fan has written a letter to Chung-How expressing in the strongest manner his belief that the Missionaries were innocent of the charges laid against them, and that the Magistrates were guilty in not restraining the outbreak. He had thoroughly investigated the matter and found it so. This rumour you will find agrees with what is said on the subject in the *Peking Gazette*. Tseng is also reported to have written to Chung, that it was no wonder foreigners were annoyed with the Chinese on account of their numerous breaches of the Treaty regulations; but that as foreigners are men not devoid of sense, who come to trade here, it is to be hoped that matters may yet be settled, &c., &c.

It is also said that Tseng has written to the Emperor to the effect that the French are implacable, and that there is no chance of getting on with them, by any peaceable means, as they are evidently determined to have war. The Emperor's reply, it is said, has come holding Tseng responsible for the situation.

Well-informed Chinese will have it that Tseng-Kwo-fan is at the bottom of all these troubles, and that he is fomenting the Mahomedan disturbances for his own purposes, having ulterior objects in view. Tseng and Chung are not friendly, and Tseng's letter to Chung is believed to be a blind. If the contents of the letter were Tseng's true sentiments, they would show him to be a thoroughly honest, upright man. But it is almost impossible to follow these people through all their duplicities.

I hear that the *nine* men (some say only *four*) who were taken up the other day have since been released. The Chinese believe that at present, Tseng durst not punish one of them; there is therefore little likelihood of their heads being given to Rochechouart.

A Protestant convert,—a simple man, living 600 li from here, having heard that all his foreign teachers were killed, came all the way to enquire into the matter, and went to the house, in the city, of one of the native preachers. He was caught by the soldiers, kicked and cuffed, and told that they intended to kill all the Christians; but that as he was a simple countryman they would let him off for this time if he would promise to go away 100 li from Tientsin. He promised, and went away. This was three weeks ago, and it is only within the last three days that he has ventured to come back and give this report.

Some of the Chinese here are remarking on the recent importation of fire-arms said to have been sent up by an American who lately paid a visit to the North. They say that if any Chinaman did such a thing he would lose his head here, and ask if there are many Americans who are so bad. The same Chinese also show their acquaintance with history to the extent of observing that the Americans have never done anything in fighting for the opening of China, but have left that to the English and the French, while they have not hesitated to take every advantage gained by those who did the fighting. They remark also on the attitude taken at present by Mr. Low and Dr. Williams. It is to be hoped the Americans will not forget the remarks of these Chinese, whether in their trading or diplomatic capacity. The *Ashuelot* is now here, and should there be any fighting to do, no doubt her gallant crew will do what has been done by an American crew before:—remember that "blood is thicker than water," and help with a right good will.

An address of the foreign residents to Count Rochechouart is to be presented to-day. I hear there was considerble excitement in the city again, yesterday, the braves being anxious to be led against foreigners in the Settlement. They take periodical fits of this kind. Their arms which were laid past for some days, are I am told, again worn openly in the streets. Mr. Moules, a drill master here to Ching-How's

troops, a good simple man, has had great faith in the Chinese that they did not want to fight. This morning a message was sent him by the mandarins which has rather unsettled his mind on this point. It was to the effect that he was not to come back to the drill-ground until he was sent for. No drilling has taken place since the massacre, but Mr. Moules went over occasionally to see the troops.

The meeting of the Ministers and Admirals is said to have taken place yesterday. I have not heard a whisper of what took place there; but I hear that Baron de Meritens, who is here, has said that this is the murder of Frenchmen, not of English, and will not be allowed to pass unpunished. I hear the French Admiral with several officers and sailors have gone up to town this afternoon. To reconnoitre?

It is said that Chunghow was down here yesterday and that he was very unwell; care and anxiety being the cause of it.

(29th July)

I have had a talk with———. He says a Telegram has been received and that the orders are: wait a month for instructions. He feels sure that Taku and Tientsin will be occupied, and the North opened. Some chance of the coal mines yet, and rail-roads too.

Wade is here. He still holds to his old opinion. Consul Lay inclines I believe to our view and is somewhat snubbed in consequence; but he is right nevertheless, and holds manfully to it. Rochechouart and Meritens return to Peking on Wednesday. Instructions not expected for a month.

(30th July)

Messrs. Wade and Meadows were seen walking arm-in-arm on the Bund last night. They are old friends, the former having known the latter in his official capacity. The *Salamis* and *Ashuelot* leave here to-day. Their leaving is no doubt owing to the fact that the French can *do* nothing for a month, and the weather here meanwhile is frightfully hot and *stormy*. I have lost three nights' sleep which is more than I ever did before, so I think it as well that the steamers should go at present. Nevertheless it is a fact that Wade does not take the interest he ought in these affairs. ——— says they got down yesterday two men and several women, and have now they think got all the converts. These women were present when the sisters were killed, and saw them *impaled alive*; their bodies cut open to see whether they were virgin or not; their hands cut off, and thrown into the fire *while still alive*. The more one hears, the more horrible is the account of these most cruel transactions. I had heard of the impaling at first, but could not credit it, and therefore did not mention it.——says that in a few days they will have all the news, and know everything about it. He has on his journey heard of similar practices to those here, from Canton, Foochow and other places.

Yours truly,

THE NORTH.

A GENTLEMAN favors us with the following extracts from his Peking letter:—

PEKIN, 25th July, 1870.

Fresh excitement seems to have been caused here by the insertion in the *Gazette* of that case of kidnapping referred to in my last, and proclamations founded thereon have been circulated widely, though not generally placarded in the Streets. These proclamations call on the people to "seize the kidnappers at sight" or as the natives say "let not the kidnappers still remain in the city." The interest we have in all this is that it is foreigners who are really aimed at over the shoulders of the alleged native kidnappers.

There are present here some of the "T'ou-Muh"="heads and eyes" of the Tientsin massacre who are reported to be in the outer city close to where Cheng-kwo-Shwai is residing, where they are displaying as a trophy a table cloth clotted with blood and boasting of their exploits in connection with it. This they do openly, yet while the mandarins, and the foreign ministers who support them, declare their desire to punish those who *are proved* to have taken part in the bloody outrage, no one seizes these men, or even tries. Shame on them. They also assert that the Tientsin Magistrates guaranteed their safety, and promised them promotion if they managed the massacre successfully. All this might be treated as mere braggadocio were it not that their presence here is itself a proof of their confidence that no punishment will overtake their work at Tientsin. Contemporary with their arrival and, no doubt, as a consequence of it, new rumours have arisen of a design to destroy the Catholic establishments here for alleged complicity in child-stealing. There are no doubt plenty of the "long knife in strong sleeve" bravos here in the Chinese and Tartar quarters, to carry out such a design, if the public sentiment can be lashed up to the requisite pitch of superstitious apprehension. The French have issued a proclamation declaring that such menaces must be aimed only at *them* as they alone here take care of children, and giving an utter denial to their alleged ill-treatment of children.

The country people are reported as arguing that the massacre must have been an official affair, as no one has been punished for it, and drawing this practical inference: "let us therefore follow out the imperial will and kill all the Christians." The war party are said by the natives to be Tseng-kwo-fan, Cheng-kwo-shwai, and Mao-Chang-Hsi, President of the Board of War, who was entrusted with Foreign Affairs just before Prince Kung was taken with the sudden "indisposition" which kept him six weeks in retirement. Some foreigners here believe that orders have been sent to Tseng-kwo-fan to have the Tientsin city Magistrates beheaded. Perhaps this course is thought safer than to bring them up here for punishment in the present state of public feeling; and such a stern act of justice may do some thing to repress the anti-foreign feeling here which is every

day becoming more bitter. There is a rumour that the French are to be attacked on the 27th.

A native assistant is fearfully excited by the threats of the troops just outside the east gate of the Tartar city who have been bragging of what they will do. A singular body of troops they truly are. With their uniforms on they are brave enough to attack defenceless women. Stripped of their uniforms they are cut-throat brigands along the river, such as murdered poor Williamson at midnight. But if one wishes to get a safe conduct from here to Tientsin they had better apply to Dr. Wells Williams. Miss Douw and Mrs. Bonny purpose going down to-morrow and, as I hear, applied to the American Minister for a pass. From their picnic at the hills Low and Williams replied "O yes, it is perfectly safe, perfectly safe! Therefore go to Tientsin." O'Brien generously offered to escort the ladies all the way. On the other hand Wade who leaves for Tientsin to-day dissuaded the ladies from going. Mark this difference between Wade and Williams.

Wade goes to Tientsin, not of course on so trifling an errand as to enquire into a mob riot, but "to make a call on the Admiral." He makes much the same figure now as he does in "Swinhoe's Campaign, 1860." Parkes would not have got into trouble if he had not listened to the blind confidence of our Sir Hugh Wheeler. "Brave enough in action, Sir, but very stupid before it."

The celebrated American mermaid here shows a strange alternation of symptoms. When some fresh piece of news makes war probable, he wriggles a little and shows that if men will fight these Chinese eels, he will try the dry land for a little and side with the men against the fish, though of course only as an interested spectator. But at every thing that promises that matters may, after all, be pleasantly arranged he *veers* again—; reverts into W. A. P., and though he has at present got so near shore that he draws only half an inch, his splash still shows fellow-feeling enough to satisfy his fishy constitnents that he, after all, never meant to desert them.

It seems likely that Rochechouart's visit to Tientsin has quickened Tseng-Kwo-fan's Report which appears in to-day's (25th) Gazette. It is to the effect that there is not a shadow of a foundation for the stories injurious to the Catholics, and that as the Chifu and the Chi-hsien (Chang-Kwang-Tsa and Liu-Chieh) did not show proper diligence in repressing the disturbance, they should be stripped of rank and handed over to the Hsing-pu (Board of Punishments) to be dealt with as they deserve. Possibly now some of the foreigners whose superstitious regard for the written character, Chinese or English, is so gross, will leave off maintaining that probably some children's bodies *were* found with hearts plucked away and eyes gouged out. Alas! it is not the Chinese alone who are stereotyped and fossilized. Cheng-Kwo-Shwai's motive is clearer to me now. He is no Mohamedan; but he is the Mandarin whom Rochechouart procured to be degraded on the Yangtse, last winter. Here then is an illustration of the wisdom of leaving such an implacable and influential enemy alive in a nominal disgrace, the renown of which causes him to be regarded with the veneration due to a martyr, instead of seeing the man's head off and his power ofdisseminating mischief and misery for ever at an end. All the Chinese here agree that Cheng-Kwo-Shwai for one *cannot* be touched, without creating war. All the better say I. Off with his head then, French Provost Marshal, and give him the due attendance of those mandarins whatever their rank who executed his bloody work, while they still kept up towards foreigners the same kitten and lamb-like demeanour as did our boys in Hongkong when they were conspiring to poison us. And when this act of justice has been done, we may begin to look for a regenerated China.

A MISTAKE.

To the Editor of the

SHANGHAI EVENING COURIER.

SIR,

Some people seem to imagine that the Chinese have only some particular hatred against Frenchmen, or at most against Catholic Missionaries. This is a great mistake. Do you want a proof of it?—Here is a libel first printed in Hoo-nan, and several times reprinted in this province; the mandarins are very well acquainted with it; the title is *An appeal to the Hoo-nan province*. The first lines of it are:—"It is much to be regretted that bad principles are daily spreading out "like a devouring fire, and sound ones swoon away into "complete oblivion.

"Strangers are invading all around, people's hearts "are provoked at it. Just speak of those rebellions and "barbarous Englishmen; (英咭唎) their savage "country is the sea shore, the head of their government is a woman, and their original race is "half-man half-brute. They are those whom "our books call *naked worms*, and *men-fish*." (倮蟲鯷人).

The conclusion is:—

"Wherefore we all literati, husbandmen, trades-"men and so forth, let us draw the sword against the "common enemy; whoever does not come with us is "a traitor, shamefully sold to foreigners."

INVESTIGATOR.

TIENTSIN.

3rd August, 1870.

THIS morning the bodies of the French who were murdered on 21st June were removed to the site of the old French Consulate in the city. The foreign community went up in two French steamers to attend the funeral ceremony, officials being in full uniform. Mass was said by the acting bishop, assisted by two priests; the graves sprinkled with holy water and incense burned over them. Orations were then delivered,—by the French minister, who spoke low; by the French Admiral, bold and warlike; by the Bishop, on religion; and by Mr. Wade, who more especially addressed his own countrymen. The addresses seem to have produced a profound sensation among those who heard them; Mr. Wade spoke with deep emotion,

and has done himself much credit. We give the speeches below.

The Mandarins mustered in force, Chung-How and all the local people being present. Soldiers guarded both banks of the river and of the Grand Canal, which were crowded with people.

Mow-chang-shi, a member of the Great Council and spokesman of the war, or anti-foreign, party is in Tientsin for the purpose of assisting Tsêng-kwo-fan who reports himself "sick."

Count Rochechouart stated, returning from the funeral to-day in the steamer, that the Central government had promised the heads of the mandarins he had asked for, and he thought the matter might be got over without fighting though it would be wise to be prepared for everything.

COUNT ROCHECHOUART'S ADDRESS:—

Gentlemen,—One in vain searches history to find occurrences so execrable as those of which this city was the scene on the 21st June last. Seventeen French subjects, twelve of them ill-fated women, were massacred—what do I say?—were cut to pieces, by a fanatical mob, who not content to kill and to destroy, wished, if possible, to add to the enormity of their crime, by venting their fury on the dead bodies. My tongue refuses to recite the details of these horrors, but I cannot pass over in silence the sublime behaviour of the Sister Elisabeth. A crowd, vast, hideous, bloody, has already surrounded the Convent, beats in the gates, and prepares to glut its hatred; then does that saintly woman come forward to the front of her offices: "You wish to kill the Europeans, she "says; there are ten of us: my companions are "in the Chapel ready like me for the sacrifice; "come then, but spare the Chinese who surround "us" Thus indeed it well became those women to die, whose charity, devotion and piety are known to all Who among us, gentlemen, condemned to live away from our own country, far from the domestic hearth, has not been glad to experience in times of sickness, the care and the consolations of these holy ladies who seem to know only the sorrows of others. You have been good enough, in two addresses, to express to me the sympathy with which these noble victims have inspired you, and to pronounce deserved praises on the courage of our unfortunate Consul, who perhaps might have been able to save his life, but who preferred to die in the place where his duty called him. Thanks Gentlemen, for that sympathy; thanks also for that claim to unity with us which you make; in China foreigners are all one family.

The forwardness of the Chinese authorities to be present at this sad ceremony, is to me a sure guarantee (at least I wish to believe it so) of the good faith of Prince Kung. When His Imperial Highness has written me "the guilty, whatever their rank, will be punished" it is impossible to forget these words after they have been written, and for myself in spite of sad forebodings I wish to believe them—for the interest of the Chinese Government which would not wish by a culpable leniency, to expose itself to the just resentment of a nation like France. In the presence of these still open graves, enclosing the friends, the colleagues of yesterday, full of the future and of health, and some of whom had known only the roses of life;—I feel emotion overpowering me and sobs stifling my voice. Farewell then, my friends; you have given us good examples to follow in the performance of our duty. May we be able like you to die without weakness, surrounded by regrets and regards.

ADDRESS of the Admiral of the Imperial Navy:

Gentlemen,—Afflicting as may be the sad ceremony which has brought us together around these coffins, I congratulate myself that I am able to be present, and to say boldly on this the very theatre of the massacre, that my entire sympathy is for those who have been the innocent victims of it;—that my utter horror is for the sanguinary beasts who have been its instruments, and above all, for the wretches who have been its cowardly instigators.

These sentiments are shared by my brave comrades, the sailors of Great Britain and of the American Union, whom I thank for their kindness in joining us in this demonstration of our sad regrets;—of our intense indignation.

The remains of these unfortunate victims of duty and of charity, still, gentlemen, call for justice. The forwardness of the Chinese Government to render them the last honours should make us hope that, yielding to the counsels of reason and of justice, it will make haste to chastise the principal instigators and agents of this unexampled outrage, and to give by its firm decision, guarantees which have become indispensable to all the foreign communities without distinction.

I cannot believe that it will be so ill-disposed or advised as to refuse to chastise those who before God and man, are responsible for the blood shed; that it will cast itself violently back from the paths (of progress) on which it had entered; that it will give way to barbarism;—that it will wantonly summon against its multitudinous subjects innocent of this crime, foreign arms which have already proved so fatal to it.

But I can assure you that if, which God forbid, the terrible duty of chastisement is imposed on us by France, shuddering at the sight of one of her Consuls murdered, of her priests murdered, of her holy daughters, of all these

defenceless women cowardly murdered, we shall know, my companions and I, to fulfill it, without cruelty, I hope, but with all the energy, and with all the severity which the failure to punish such a ghastly atrocity would demand

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ADDRESS of M. Thierry, Apostolic pro-Vicar. Superior of the Pekin Mission :—

Gentlemen,—In the addresses which you have just heard, the kindness of the Chargé d' Affaires and of the Admiral has led them to dwell especially on the horrible massacre of the Sisters of Charity. For us, Gentlemen, their death cannot be regarded as a subject of sorrow. They and our lamented fellow-labourers have reaped in heaven what they had sown on earth ; so far as they are concerned, their death is gain. Come to China with the hope of the Martyr, they have obtained their dearest wish ;—to give their life for Christ.

Permit us rather to deplore with you the death of our much loved Cousul, M. Fontanier, defender of Missionaries, protector of the Christian religion, he has died nobly at his post, for it and for us. Permit us also to join in the general grief in regard to M. Thomassin, come to China for the same object, with his young wife, and so prematurely elevated to universal affection and esteem.

It is these and the other Frenchmen fallen victims to the impious hatred of the Chinese against religion ; it is these, gentlemen, who should be mourned over. For ours, no tears, no vengeance ; the Missionaries,—servants of the God of Peace ; the Sisters, daughters of the Charity of Jesus Christ, can do nothing but pardon their enemies and pray for God's mercy on their persecutors.

MR. WADE'S ADDRESS :—

MR. WADE said that he spoke only in answer to an appeal. It was scarcely necessary to assure those more directly interested in the sad spectacle at which they were assisting, of his own sympathy and that of his countrymen, of the sincerity of their compassion for the fate of their fellow-Christians, whom they were met to honor; in particular for the fate of the unfortunate Sisters of Charity. One of these was his countrywoman. He had seen her but a few months past at Peking, engaged in her charitable work. It was indeed fearful to think that women whose lives were thus devoted to the best of good works, should have fallen victims to brutal ignorance. They had been happily reminded by the Abbé Thierry that to the Sisters at least, to die as they had died "was gain." It was Mr. Wade's humble conviction that no one who succumbed in the honest discharge of duty would fail to gain a reward.

Beyond the necessary punishment he would not speak of vengeance. He would but add, what he believed and trusted, as he could not doubt, every Christian present wished, that out of this great calamity great good would be produced.

PEKING.

Our advices reach to the 19th.

Disquieting rumours had been still very prevalent, one was to the effect that the 25th July, was the day fixed by a band of cut-throats for exterminating the foreigners in Peking. This had been talked of for weeks previously ; and it is supposed the Imperial Edict of the 24th, published in the *Courier* of August 4th, (and which appears in the *Daily News* this morning,) had been instrumental in preventing an outbreak. Mr. Wade had paid two visits to the yamên on behalf of the London Mission converts, 40 miles south of Peking, whose lives were endangered by the excited state of popular feeling, against Christians, which is much increased by the fact that no one has yet been punished for the Tientsin affairs, whence the people infer that the government approves of the massacre. The yamên promised Mr. Wade to send instructions to correct this idea.

The Tsung-li-yamên are believed to have received some message from Europe which has caused considerable activity among their members. Some of them were called up in the middle of the night of Monday 25th, and many officials of note attended the Imperial presentation next morning. On the 26th, the members of the yamên were running about the Legations asking whether they should behead the Foo and Hien of Tientsin. This awaking to the necessity of doing something to satisfy the demands of justice is certainly remarkable for its suddenness.

Chen-kwo-jui wished to leave Peking for Tientsin on the 26th, but was restrained by a brother of Prince Kung's. He is allowed no troops about him, and it is feared he might be unmanageable if he got to Tientsin.

Some of the Pekingese have a report that the natives of Tientsin are on the point of rebellion against the authorities, in consequence of their assent to the beheading of the "public-spirited" mandarins who managed the massacre. They say there is no "Tao-li" in Chinese killing Chinese, so long as there are foreigners to be killed. Anyhow it is a strange state of things, when Tsêng places his troops in the streets "to catch the assassins." However, Tsêng *did* ask the Consuls not to be offended at his doing so. Mow-Chan-hi, President of the Board of War leaves for Tientsin on 28th, which means that the pro-war party

have got the upper hand again. Tsêng-Kwo-fan's report exculpating foreigners, is no relished by a large party in Peking; he is even suspected of having been bribed by the French to make the report he did. Rumours are that the French have no troops at all anywhere, or that it will take at least two months to bring them on the scene, while the anti-foreign party feel confident they can destroy them with ease, and exterminate all Christians. The numbering of each house in Peking is actually going on to see where there are Christians to be killed. One man, a Christian, who occupied part of a house and refused to buy a joss or burn incense, but instead said his prayers every night, was deserted by his neighbour, who was afraid to stay with him through the 25th July, in case the Mandarins should take him also when they came to kill the Christian.

The two parties in the Great Council are believed to be divided as follows.

PEACE PARTY.

Prince Kung Jui-chang Wên Siang (off duty)	Manchus.

WAR PARTY.

Mow Chang Hsi Hsueh Huan	Chinese.
Pao Chun	Chinese banner.
Chia Chen Tan Ting Hsiang	Chinese.
Wo	A Manchu.

There may be some inaccuracies in the latter, some fierce discussions have occurred among them lately. Mow-Chang-hsi seems to be a fire-brand; calls Prince Kung "foreigner," and Tsêng-Kwo-fan and Chung How "Catholics." He declares that the kidnapping charges against the Catholics are true, and goes to Tientsin to re-investigate. He is loud-mouthed in bragging that as the Coreans repulsed the French, it will be much easier for the Chinese to do so. It was Mow-Chang-hsi who collared the French Interpreter at the Tsung-li-yamên and challenger him fight, or something very like it. On the whole it will be seen he is a tolerably dangerous man to entrust with the "investigation" and control of affairs at Tientsin. A respectable gentleman on hearing of his appointment observed "I guess the French will find now they have got one that will pay them back in their own coin for their *brow beating* of the Chinese!"

The most absurd notions as to the impotency of France are current in Peking; and as might be expected it is reported and believed that Messrs. Wade and Rochechouart fled from the capital.

FUNERAL OF THE TIENTSIN VICTIMS.

Tientsin, *6th August*, 1870.

THE event of the week has been the removal of the bodies of the French victims in the late massacre, to their final resting place, within the grounds of the former French Consulate. As your readers are aware, the corpses recovered subsequently to the terrible 21st of June, were taken charge of by H. B. M. Consul, W. H. Lay, Esq., who saw that they were properly coffined, and buried provisionally in the cemetery at Tsz-chu-lin Not a few of our little community would have been pleased to hear that they were not to be again disturbed. Englishmen everywhere would have felt pride in learning that the honoured bones of these martyred victims of political fanaticism and bigotry, lay side by side with those of many of their own countrymen. But, doubtless for weighty reasons, our allies have judged it best to take another course. It seemed fitting that the scene of the outrage on their national honour should become, in some sense at least, memorable as the scene of its vindication. It was evident that the sacred duty to honour the memory of the faithful dead could be discharged nowhere so impressively, as upon the spot where some of them fell, and it was plainly a righteous, however severe and cutting a retribution, to require that the nation which had slain them should itself prepare their sepulchres and erect over their remains a monument which should to all coming time, proclaim their innocence and the perfidious cruelty of their murderers.

Yet, granting all this, there were those who doubted whether the time had come for such a ceremonial. To say nothing of the extreme heat of the season and the danger thence accruing from so early a removal of the bodies,—a danger which was probably overrated—it seemed scarcely possible at present to invest the obsequies with as much of pomp and circumstance as the occasion demanded, and as was unquestionably desirable, in order to produce a lasting beneficial impression upon the native mind. The conveyance of the dead in solemn procession, whether by land or water, attended by a considerable military escort, and accompanied in its route through the teeming population of Tientsin by some of the highest officials in Empire, would have been a demonstration of incalculable value in days to come, and well worth a little delay. Besides, there was a still more important reason for such a course. In accordance with native custom, the burial of the dead is always the last act in such a drama as that which is now being enacted in this city. The judicial investigation, the punishment of the offenders, and the compensation of survivors, ought all to be secured before the silent, but eloquent, witnesses, who were the victims of the crime, are consigned to the darkness of the tomb. Otherwise the matter is considered to be at an end: justice will rarely be obtainable afterwards. It will be present in the remembrance of all that this was our own experience after the murder of the Rev. James Williamson last year. It was then found to be impossible to yield to the urgent entreaties of the native Christians, who

knew the customs of their country, that his body should remain unburied until the murderers had been secured. But the sequel proved that they were right, for to this day we have no proof that one honest effort was subsequently made to seize his murderers, and thus the lives of foreigners are felt to be of little value.

However, all these considerations were doubtless weighed by His Excellency the Count Rochechouart and his advisers and we may safely leave the issue in their hands. His immediate return to Peking appears to have been the principal reason for the course taken. The presence of H. B. M. Chargé d'Affaires, and of the English and French Admirals, doubtless appeared also to render the opportunity a suitable one for the performance of those last sad rites. in which they, in common with all feeling Christian hearts, must have felt an overwhelming interest Accordingly on Tuesday the 2nd August the mournful preparations began. It was thought well to encase the strong coffins previously used in boxes of still greater strength and thickness. These were therefore provided by the native authorities, and sent down to the foreign cemetery at Tze-chu-lin. The task of disinterment, the enclosure in these huge wooden shells, and their transportation to the river, must have been one of no ordinary difficulty. It proceeded all through the night, and the noise made by the large number of men employed reminded us only too vividly of the howling shouts, which but a few short weeks since, proclaimed the near presence of a bloodthirsty mob. When morning dawned there were still several bodies awaiting shipment, and, as the event proved, there were one or two which did not arrive at their destination in time for the ceremony. As they successively reached the jetty they were placed upon separate lighters, and sent up the river.

It was about 5 a.m. when your Correspondent, in company with other residents found his way to the bund. It had been arranged that the French gun-boat "Aspic" should convey the Ministers and Naval and Consular staffs, while the "Scorpion" was kindly placed at the disposal of foreigners generally. Mr. Wade however, preferred to ride.

As we passed up the well-known banks of the river, the scene was sufficiently exciting. As usual, at this season, there was a considerable number of junks at anchor, and the deck of each was covered as soon as the steamers appeared, with groups of eager gazers. All were quiet enough, for of course, strict orders had been issued by the mandarins to prevent disturbance, and it would have been madness to act otherwise. I did not hear a snigle offensive word. But there was no mistaking the expression of many a face, and it would be hard to describe the sickened feeling with which one looked upon some, of whose share in the late atrocities there could be no rational doubt. Nor was it remarkable that the number of these repulsive, hate-speaking countenances was greatest in those very districts upon the east of the river, where the bitterest feeling has prevailed throughout the whole of these troubles. The *Hwen-hsing-tsz* are there in great strength, and are the dread, not merely of foreigners, but of their more peaceable neighbours.

Visitors to Tientsin will recollect the open expanse of water at the point of junction of the Pei-ho and the Grand Canal. The two streams do not form an angle, but actually meet, their united stream then flowing at right angles to both of them towards the sea. The French Consulate and Cathedral occupied a commanding position, looking straight down the river. Upon the memorable 21st of June, the spectacle from this point must have been fearfully impressive. From this, the centre of the converging lines, the banks of all three streams are visible for a considerable distance, and they were then crowded, far as the eye could reach, by countless thousands, while from every voice there rose the cry of "Kill." But now, as we neared the neat stone bund, in front of the Consulate, the banks were all but deserted. On one side, Chung-how's foreign-drilled troops were placed as guards, at intervals of two or three yards apart. On the other, Tseng-kwo-fan's wild-looking spearmen, most of them probably old rebels did similar duty. Here and there curious spectators were seem peering over a wall, or round some street corner, but they were urged back, and in no sense could it be said that the ceremonial was witnessed by the people.

There was a curious mingling of the foreign and Chinese formalities usual on such occasions. A number of mat-sheds were ranged upon the bund, and here, separated one from the other, lay the coffins. Each was covered with a large plain black pall, to which a white cross was loosely attached Close by the door way stood a native hearse, gorgeous in green and gold embroidery; while scattered over the ground in groups, were nnmbers of the strange wild men and boys with their conical scarlet caps always seen at native funerals, each bearing some fantastic gaudy emblem.

The vessels were hardly moored before Chung-how and his brother officials appeared. They had probably been waiting some time. Their presence was not demanded, but they had been invited by the priests, and doubtless thought it best to put in an appearance. Their plain undress contrasted strongly with the brilliant uniforms of the foreign officials, and were the subject of some adverse comment; but it must not be forgotten that no Chinese would wear official robes at such a time, and that their dress was therefore in accordance with national usage. The only mandarin of rank absent was Tseng-kwo-fan, who was reported to be sick.

On entering the Consular garden, the arrangements in progress for carrying out the idea.

of a memorial were easily understood. The ground had been carefully levelled, and prepared for its new use by laying out a broad path from end to end. On either side of this path were the graves, large brick vaults, 13 in number, over which it is intended to place suitable stones, while at the further end stood a mat pavilion, to be replaced hereafter by the monument which shall tell to future ages the story of the tragedy. It was said that the general plan had been copied from the Jesuits cemetery in Peking and that it would be completed in a similar manner.

After a few minutes delay, during which several of the bodies were deposited in the vaults and other preliminaries adjusted, the religious portion of the ceremonial began. This was conducted in the absence of the Bishop who is now at Rome by M. Thierry, the Vicar Apostolic, assisted by two others and attended also by one or two natives, one of whom carried a large silver crucifix. At this moment, and while the fathers passed from grave to grave, incensing each in turn and chanting the service of their church, the *coup d'œil* was very striking. The open space with its gaping sepulchres, the glittering uniforms of the Consular and Naval officers, the more sober but not less effective robes of the ecclesiastics, the little group of eager and sympathising foreigners and curiously impassive Chinese, the singular native ornaments in the background, with the charred ruins of the cathedral towering over all, made up a scene, which, aided by the recollections filling the minds of all present, will never be forgotten. The religious service over, those addresses were elivered by Compte Rochechouart; Amiral Dupré; M. Thierry and Mr. Wade, of which you are already in possession.

PEKING.

On the 25th July the English cemetery was visited by officials in the same way as the Protestant Chapel before mentioned. This also is attributed to over-anxiety of the authorities for the safety of foreigners. The authorities are shewing other signs of activity. A Proclamation is issued offering rewards of 100 and 200 *teaou* to the informer and apprehender of the thieves who broke into Mrs. Wade's temple at the hills, the thief or thieves to be forgiven if they confess and bring back the goods. There are now night watchmen to protect the foreigners.

11th.—Messrs. Wade and Rochechouart returned, the former displeased with Tsêng-kwo-fan, which is important. Some think owing to the European war the Chinese may go on massacring. I think we shall probably feel so uncomfortable here in a few months that all the ladies at least will move off.

The foreign-armed troops in Peking are being drilled, after the foreign style, by Chinese drill masters taught in the Tientsin school.

The Mahomedan Rebellion.

The following report of the progress of this movement reaches us from Peking. The authority is a military commander in the Imperial service.

The Mahomedans are fighting and slaughtering fearfully in the west. From a late arrival I hear of cities taken and put to the sword, soldiers and rebels sometimes forced to feed on their mules, and, when mule's flesh fails, to kill their adversaries or prisoners and eat them. For drink extremity drives them to even more disgusting expedients. Mutilations of the body are said to be fearfully prevalent. The rebels are eight-tenths Mahomedans, and two tenths "Chang-maou-tsei." They are reported to have many foreign arms, and to number 300,000. They force into their ranks those who prefer that to death. They are making for the east and south-east, that is advancing on Chih-li, and the Imperialists have their hands full in keeping them at bay. Daily fights occur.

TIENTSIN.

10th August 1870.

On Saturday night one of the men connected with the foreign missionaries who arrived from the country *via* the Grand Canal, reports the banks crowded with soldiers bound to Tientsin. One of Li-kung-pao's runners was seen, and these men are said to be part of 15,000 of Li's troops.

Count Rochechouart and party left on Friday, Mr. Wade on Saturday, and Chung-How on Sunday, all for Peking. A gentleman who arrived here this morning from Peking passed the Count's party yesterday morning about half-way to Peking. They had taken five days to go 40 miles!!—by water. At the present moment, on account of the heavy rain, the land route is said to be impassible. Possibly reminiscences of comfortable first-class carriages, and a speed of 40 miles *an hour* may have obtruded themselves on the European portion of these travelling parties. A few such journeys would do much to unsettle one's faith in the Anglo-Americo-Pekingese dogma that China is better without roads, at least *for the present*.

It is reported that Mr. J. A. T. Meadows has resigned his secretaryship of the Imperial Arsenal.

Count Rochechouart is believed to have given the Tsung-li yamên till August 31 to give up the three heads which he has demanded, failing which he will haul down his flag and leave the country.

The Chinese have it that Tseng-kwo-fan is very wroth that the Chih-fu and Chih-hsien had not been forwarded sooner from

Paou-ting-fu. The Chih-hsien is said to be missing and is nowhere to be found, which is probable enough; and if the Chih-fu is sent from Paou-ting-fu to Peking, he will doubtless make his escape also. Of course, no one here, native or foreigner, believes the officials will be given up or punished for the massacre. If the French are in earnest, as they are believed to be, war must follow; and the more promptly and vigorously it is prosecuted the less will the Chinese suffer, and the greater benefits they will derive from it. For our broken treaties we have only ourselves to blame. We made stipulations on paper, and relaxed them in practice, abandoning one concession after another to please the Chinese, and now they and we are suffering for it, and War alone can remedy the effects of our short-sightedness and folly. A joint occupation and just rule of the northern provinces for a few years would do more good to China than anything that has happened since the days of Confucius, and even of Yaou and Shun.

A Mandarin who has a reputation for more than average truthfulness, states that a Council of war was lately held in Peking, and out of eighteen or twenty who were present, all voted for war except *two*, of of whom Prince Kung was one. The Mandarin remarked that if they knew as much about foreign troops as he did they would not be so rash.

Another, an ex-official, also considered to be a reliable man, says that Li-hung-chang's men have begun to arrive in the northern suburb; there are thirteen thousand of them he thinks. He says he knows war is determined on as the only possible course to be pursued, as the government will not give up their officials at the demand of foreigners. The government would consent to the banishment of the three persons whose execution is demanded, and behead any number of roughs, and replace all property and so forth; but the *execution* of the officials, *never*. He further states that *a general rising against foreigners is being planned throughout the Empire without distinction of nationality*. This is from a man who has no particular connection with foreigners, and no apparent interest or motive in advancing his views.

Tseng kwo-fan's Memorandum of his Investigation into the Tientsin Massacre.

Having been ordered by Imperial decree to repair to Tientsin and enquire thoroughly into the events of the 21st June, I have, up to the present time, arrived at the following conclusions regarding these sad occurances.

The first cause of the disturbances lay in the circumstance that missionaries were accused of being implicated in the kidnappings perpetrated by bad men To this must be added the various rumours about eyes dug out, and hearts torn out; it being pretended that a certain medicine was prepared from these ingredients. And these rumours did not only spread from one to the other among the simple and silly people, but even amongst the gentry and literati there were many who brought forward the same accusations with one voice. From these accumulated suspicions, openly expressed dissatisfaction arose, and amid the consequent excitement the great disaster happened.

It is therefore necessary in the first place to discriminate between truth and fabrication, in order to separate right from wrong and innocence from guilt, so that we may clearly show that a just settlement of the matter is our only aim. And we must specially keep in mind that wild rumours of this kind have been circulated not in Tientsin alone, bnt that formerly in Hunan also and Kiangsi, in Yangchow and Tien-men, and even in the province of Chihli, in the districts of Taming-fu and Kwang-ping, anonymous and inflammatory placards were posted about, in which it was maintained either that the missionaries stole children, or that they dug out the eye, and tore out the hearts of men, or that women and girls were seduced and polluted by them.

And although the disturbances excited by those accusations at the above mentioned places have been severally settled, still it has never been thoroughly investigated and clearly shown how far the imputations contained in these anonymous placards were well founded or not; and therefore it has been my principal care since my arrival at Tientsin to elucidate these points singly by careful examination and enquiry.

First, as to kidnapping being practised by Chinese Christians; it is true that Wong-san made a confession of this kind, but even he denies on the one day what he had confessed on the other, and his statements are not in accordance with those of his comrades. And certainly no proof has been obtainable of the complicity of the foreign missionaries themselves in these abductions of children. Further, I have repeatedly examined all the boys and girls, 150 in number, taken away from the Sisters of Mercy, and they unanimously maintain that they had been instructed there only in religious matters, that they had been brought to that Establishment spontaneously, by their parents to be educated there, and that they had by no means been dragged there forcibly by kidnappers.

Second; with regard to the tearing out of eyes and hearts, this is a mere invention without the slightest foundation in reality. It would appear that during the 4th and 5th moons of this year (May and June) cases occurred of two or three children who had died in the Hospital being put into *one* coffin, which aroused the suspicions of the people. And the gates of the mission premises being closed the whole year, excited suspicion by its mysteriousness, and because the people could not explain to themselves what was going on inside, a sense of fearful curiosity took possession of them. In this way evil reports spread to all the four quarters of the earth, and ten thousand cries of uniform accusation went forth against the missionaries. But it would be vain

to seek for any foundation of fact on which these spectre-accusations have been based—it would be like trying to catch with the hands the passing breeze, or to seize a shadow.

When, some days ago, I arrived at Tientsin the people crowded around and stopped my chair, and numberless petitions were presented to me. But when I had made the most careful enquiry to find out what the truth was as to the tearing out of eyes and hearts, there was not *one* who could adduce a single proof that such things had happened at all. And when I enquired within and without the city I found that very few children had been stolen at all, and these cases had almost all been duly investigated by the Courts. But from what source all these false rumours originated, I have not been able to ascertain. I have the intention now together with H. E. Chung How to draw up a memorial to the Throne in which we will give a general outline of the state of affairs, so as to bring to an end all these various discussions.

Indeed, to murder children and to mutilate their dead bodies in order to prepare medicine from them, is a deed so horrible that even uncivilized wild tribes would be loath to do it. England and France are large countries beyond the seas. How could we suppose them capable of such inhuman crimes! Reason forbids us to think of any such thing even as possible.

It may not be denied that among the Chinese converts there may be bad men who kidnap children and do other bad things, covering themselves with the name of missionaries as with a talisman; but this can only impose on us the duty to punish those converts who are found guilty of lawlessness; and must not lead us to lay these things to the charge of the missionary establishments generally.

It is the aim of the Catholic Religion to teach men to be virtuous, and the Emperor Kang-hi long ago gave permission to spread this doctrine in his dominions. And the Hospitals of the Sisters of Mercy may be fairly compared with our own Foundling Hospitals &c. The desire of the Sisters is to found asylums for the miserable and poor. Charity and mercy are their device, if therefore they are accused of abominable deeds, foreigners will be justly prompted to resentment and wrath.

It is my wish therefore, that the Emperor should promulgate an Edict in all the Provinces of the Empire, openly declaring that the misdeeds laid to the charge of the missionaries in those anonymous placards are nothing but calumnies; so that the wrong done to foreigners by these slanders may be expiated, and the doubts of the Chinese people and literati may be dissolved, and that every man in the Empire may learn and know the true state of things. In this way it is hoped that the distrust existing at present between Chinese and Foreigners may be terminated, and that the hatred and ill-will between our people and Christians may gradually disappear.

Proclamation.

T'ING, a member of the Board of War, an assistant-censor and Lieut.-governor of Kiangsoo issues the following proclamation.

A short time since the business people of Shanghai misled by rumours were in a great state of alarm; the Futai, on the occasion, issued a proclamation clearly stating that he had examined and found that the Roman Catholics had never kidnapped persons for the purpose of scooping out their eyes, plucking out their heart and so forth; he also instructed the Intendant Maritime Commissioner and District Magistrate to adopt severe measures to repress the excitement;—All which is on record.

After this the suspicions of the people were completly removed and their minds quieted, from which it is abundantly manifest that there was no intention on the part of the people to create a disturbance; it was entirely the work of certain vagabonds who fabricated a lot of groundless stories and thus excited the ignorant, silly populace.

The Futai has had the honour to receive an Imperial Mandate ordering him to proceed to Tientsin, to investigate and settle certain matters there, but will return ere many months. Ever bear in mind the truth that all mankind are brethren (lit. that all within the four seas are brethen), peacefully attend to your business occupations and do not give ear to groundless talk nor harbour suspicions and doubts. Should any evil persons make up reports and create disturbances, they will be severely punished by the local officials: when this is done, we may expect an improvement in the public morals and the prevalence of tranquility, for which the Futai earnestly longs.

A special proclamation—7th moon, 15th day.

TIENTSIN.

13th August.

Tsêng-kwo-fan is reported to have gone privately to Peking without the knowledge of his troops. This, however, needs confirmation. Mao has been notified as Chung How's successor.

On hearing of the arrival of Li's troops, the Captain of the *Ashuelot* sent an express after some of his officers who were on their way to Peking. On their return they reported having seen great numbers of soldiers outside, and thirty brass guns. The American Consul was requested to obtain information about them, and was told by the authorities there were only 2,500 troops.

At the Powder Mills nothing is going on. The erection of machinery has been stopped owing to the state of affairs. But for this they would by this time have been making Powder.

About a week since it was reported that all the mandarins at Taku had left for Tientsin. It was explained that they had only come up to pay their respects to the Empress Dowager whose birth day it was. They had left at dead of night, and curiously enough brought their wives and families and portable property with them! The troops thus deserted became uneasy; a messenger was sent down to report the circumstance, but found no one to report to. The officers have been made to return to their posts.

PEKING.

3rd August 1870.

IT was reported that the government was impressing carts to convey foreign-drilled troops to Tientsin. The natives say the fight will begin about the middle of September. A Protestant Mission Chapel outside the Ping-tze-men was, about midnight of August 1st, assailed by Chinese soldiers searching for foreigners. The commanding officer explained that he did so in obedience to orders from the Ti-tu's yamen. On investigation the explanation given was that the search was with a view to the foreigners' safety!

The example of Mr. Hart in withdrawing his family from Peking is about to be followed by three others, and more are likely to follow. Very severe remarks are made about Mr. Low who has been at the hills with his family ever since the massacre. Mr. Wade has never been there more than 48 hours at a time.

Cheng-kwo-shwai is reported to have gone to Tientsin about the 30th July and mischief is expected. The officers of the *Ashuelot* proceeding to Peking in carts, strayed close to the "Nan-hai-tze" (South Park) a dangerous locality for foreigners to approach at present, owing to the number of soldiers stationed there. Everything indicates that the apprehension felt by almost every one is only too well founded.

Encl

Acts No 26

DEPARTMENT RECEIVED NOV 25 1870 OF STATE

Confidential

No 27 6 Enclosures

Frederick F. Low

to

Department of State

Peking September 10. 1870

Encloses a "Memorandum" of the French Chargé d'affaires upon the riot at Tientsin; correspondence between M Rochechouart and Tseng-Kwoh-fan, and a private Edict of the Emperor with reference to the punishment of the local officers at Tientsin; and makes some observations upon all these documents

Confidential

No 27 6 Enclosures

Legation of the United States
Peking September 10 1878

Sir:—

I have the honor to lay before you a copy of a "memorandum" which the French Chargé d'Affairs sent to the Foreign Office soon after his return from Tientsin. It was also passed around to the other Legations with permission to take copies; and more recently it has appeared in the Shanghai newspapers

Hon Hamilton Fish
Secretary of State

The

The precise object of these last proceedings is not stated. The inference, however, is, that M Rochechoart, finding himself powerless to carry his threats into execution, is anxious to secure the popular endorsement of the foreign ships and people in China, of his demand, and justify his course to his Colleagues and the Governments they represent

As a part of the history of this proceeding, and for your information, I beg to enclose translations of the notes which passed between M Rochechoart and Keng-Kwoh-fan at Tientsin; and also a translation of a

private

private edict of the Emperor with reference to the same question

All the documents last mentioned were obtained from private, though entirely authentic, sources, with the request that they should be considered confidential. I therefore transmit them to you with a similar request

The "memorandum", — conceding all the facts to be fully proven, — makes a strong case against the three officers mentioned; but when it is con=sidered that all the testimony is Chinese or circumstantial — the former entirely ex parte — you will, I think, agree with me that

that it would be hazardous to decree capital punishment upon such testimony, without further enquiry, in any country other than China, — or possibly, France

But conceding that the three persons named are guilty of complicity in the massacre — of which I have little doubt, usually — their execution in obedience to such a demand would lose much of its moral effect for good; and, instead of preventing similar occurrences, would, I am afraid, cause outbreaks as measures of retaliation. If a prudent course had been pursued by the French Chargé — insisting upon

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the punishment of the guilty generally, and furnishing such evidence as he could against particular individuals — it is not unlikely the guilty officials would have been reached and punished. Now it is highly improbable that they will be seriously molested. The publicity given of the fact when the demand was made, and the publication now of the "Memorandum", will deter the Chinese from going as far as they otherwise would. Prince Kung and his colleagues in the Foreign Office will hardly dare to incur the responsibility, and the odium which would be cast upon

upon them by the anti-foreign high officials, by conceding the demand), even though they might under other circumstances be glad to do it.

The French Chargé d'affaires having assumed a position from which there is no honorable retreat, coupled with the flat refusal of his demands by the Chinese Government, will compel the use of force by the French sooner or later, unless some compromise can be agreed on by order of the Government of France through a new representative at Peking.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant

Frederick F. Low

Enclosures in Despatch No 2.

A Memorandum of Count Rochechouart

B Letter from M Rochechouart to Gov-genl Tseng-Kwoh-fan July 19. 1870

C Reply of Tseng-Kwoh-fan July 21. 1870

D Reply of M Rochechouart to Tseng-Kwoh-fan July 22. 1870

E Tseng-Kwoh-fans reply July 25 1870

F Imperial Edict Aug 11. 1870

Dispatch N: 27
Inclosure 1

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
RECEIVED
NOV 25 1870

Memorandum
upon the events at Tientsin.

Translated from French.

The first care of Count de Rochechouart, after the massacre at Tientsin, was to ascertain by all possible means, who were the instigators and authors of that mournful tragedy. All the particulars that he could get at Peking tended to inculpate the prefect (chifu) and district magistrate (chihien) and General Chun Kwoh-jui. The Count was therefore bound to communicate his suspicions to His Excellency Tsäng Kwoh-fan, and engage him to institute an inquiry into the conduct of these officials and to punish them; and it was not many days after his arrival in Tientsin, that the French Chargé d'Affaires obtained the sad certainty that the deeds attributed to these magistrates were real and undeniable. He then insisted more strongly

that

that the Governor-general of Chihli should have these miserable men punished. He at the same time remarked to him, that as martial law had been declared at Tientsin, it was not necessary to conform to the usual slow formalities of Chinese courts, and that summary judgment would have the double advantage of calming the just anger of the French Government, and of reëstablishing confidence by showing the people of Tientsin that the central government meant to punish the authors and abettors of these horrid outrages.

The Count de Rochechouart was not able to induce His Excellency to see the affair in this light; and the difficulty of the situation having increased rather than diminished, he now deems it to be his duty to make known to the Foreign Office (Tsungli yamun) and to his colleagues, the reasons which have led him to insist that capital punishment shall be inflicted on the prefect, the district.

trict-magistrate, and General Chun-Kwoh-jui.

But before considering in detail the charges which weigh upon each of these men, and the better to understand the odious perfidy of their conduct; it is needful first to remark that the inquiry made by Tsäng Kwoh-fan clearly proved, -

1st The falsehood of the charges made against all foreigners in general, and particularly against the Catholics;

2? That the mandarins and gentry are blamable for spreading these calumnies, and from the very first have never given them a formal denial;

3? That in none of the courts at Tientsin, are there to be found records of any formal charges brought against sorcerers or kidnappers of children.

It is needless here to recount the terrible scenes which occurred at Tientsin on the 21st of June, in which the French consul, his chancelier and his

guests

guests, missionaries and sisters of charity, as well as unfortunate French and Russian merchants, all met a cruel and savage death. It is simply my purpose to fully prove the parts enacted by each of the three accused persons.

The Prefect, strong in the protection which Tsăng Kwoh-fan exhibited towards him, did not seek to conceal, during the three months that had elapsed since entering his post, his surprise at the scrupulous manner in which the treaties had been respected at Tientsin. In his view, this respect was a weakness, which had been maintained only because of the pusillanimity of his predecessors. These aggressive remarks did not satisfy his dislike for a long time, and from words he went on to deeds that stirred up this infernal plot. Aided by the overbearing influence which he exerted over certain weak and superstitious minds, he managed to get up an excitement among the people.

people. His design was by starting the charge of witchcraft and working it skillfully, to arouse a credulous community already inclined to give ear to the most absurd fables. Two false informers, whose weak and uncertain testimony suited the designs of the prefect, were sentenced to be sacrificed. Even before martial law had been proclaimed at Tientsin, the district magistrate had not the decision to refuse the prefect when he required an order for their summary execution. By thus carrying out this sentence without fulfilling the numerous formalities required by Chinese law, he exceeded his powers and thereby found himself thereafter involved with him through whom he had compromised himself; but now these two functionaries each charge the other with this fault.

The prefect was also assured of the help of the magistrate when a deputation from the people came to offer him an honorary umbrella and a graven tablet

as

as marks of their approval. The false depo-
sitions had produced their fruits, and
the people henceforth decided to follow
the prefect in the path he had opened to
them. The latter declined the gifts they
were about to offer him, saying, "I have
"only done my duty, and these executions
"are merely the prelude of far more —
"serious matters which I am now fol-
"lowing up." After receiving these marks of
popularity, the prefect no longer hesitated
to issue, in concert with his subordinate,
their incendiary proclamations. Wu Lan-
chuen alone survived of the three informers;
and in his testimony he aimed to find —
evidence of the reality of the assertions
set forth in the proclamations.

This man pretended to have been
carried off and besotched by some Christians
paid by the missionaries; and even went
so far as to accuse a certain Wang San of
having used charms, and by means of magic
of having drawn in many proselytes to the
mission-house. These affidavits were greedily

gathered

gathered up and spread abroad among the people, and greatly tended to keep up the excitement caused by the proclamations of the Tientsin authorities. Under color of calming the agitation of the populace, he issued warrants for searching our mission establishments, but these inquiries were followed by no results; though the local authorities allowed the story to get about that the foreigners refused to deliver up the guilty. In the domiciliary visit to the church and at Abbé Chevrier's house, Mr Lanchuen could show nothing which gave the least support to his charges. The officials, who wished the crowd that surged around the gate to remain ignorant of the unexpected result of their search, carried this man off; his retractations in public at the door of the mission would have sufficed to put a stop to all. A word from the prefect at this moment, and all this excitement would have disappeared.

They

They told Chunghow all that had taken place, and the two local magistrates then went home, leaving to Chun Kwohjui and the threatening groups of men gathered in a menacing attitude on the east side of the river, the work of carrying out their plan of vengeance. The prefect was in his office when the alarm gong sounded, at which call the firemen came together, armed to carry fire and blood through the Consulate of France and our religious establishments. On hearing the tumult, he issued from his gate, but seeing the clouds of smoke rising heavenwards, he judged that his design was working well, and went in again for a little while, leaving these same men, his ready tools, to stain with their horrid deeds the house of the sisters of charity.

After these events, and seeing that the plot had failed in other cities of the empire, and that the central government was taking measures to

prevent

prevent the repetition of another like dreadful crime in the capital, the prefect then thought how he could best conceal his responsibility. No better way to do this could be found than to extort from the Christians the confession of imaginary crimes. As he could not venture to arrest them in open day, he had recourse to subterfuge; and posted up notices that he would give a large reward to every person who would seize a malefactor, – but, added he, it is not necessary to arrest Christians. A certain number of persons were seized, – and it was found that they were all – Christians with one exception, and he had one of the tickets furnished by the sisters of Charity to those whom they admitted to their distributions of food. All of them were subjected to unheard-of tortures. Every day for a week they burned the back of one of these unfortunates, running into it odoriferous sticks; and as he would not confess quick enough for them, they

ended

ended by putting them up his nose; another was quartered, and to add to his sufferings his genitals were pulled out. The informer Wu Lanchuen assisted at all these scenes of torture, and directed the questions proposed by the tribunal. In consequence of these atrocious doings, two Christians are now hovering between life and death.

The district magistrate, named Lin Kieh, had visited the Consulate on the 20th of June to threaten M. Fontanier with the wrath of the people in case that Wang San and others charged with sorcery were not immediately delivered over to him. - The next day, at the hour that the French Consul left the office of Chunghow to go to die at his post, this officer stirred up the populace against him, crying out, "Pursue him! Pursue him!" It was then that the unhappy man, already wounded, fired his revolver, but unluckily it failed to hit the wretch whom he aimed at.

On getting back to his office, - Lin Kieh found there the children who had

had been brought from the Sisters, and soon after bloody trophies carried on the points of pikes were shown, among - which was the hands of one of the Sisters. Before his eyes, one of his satellites, - struck one of the children on the cheek, saying. "There, take that as a cuff from your aunt." The magistrate seemed to enjoy the sight, and complaisantly - heard the narrative of the robberies, tortures, and mutilations told by the soldiers as so many titles of glory. - One other fact will clearly show his - complicity. Notwithstanding the orders forbidding the fabrication of arms, they had been openly made before the riot, - and even now are still exposed on the stalls of the smiths.

The course pursued by the - prefect and his colleague was evidently the result of their own decision, for on the evening before the massacre they went to Chunghow's to sound him, and try to win him to their side. He

replied

replied that the morality of the Christians was pure, and the exercise of their religion did not disturb good order, so that he saw no reason why they should be persecuted. Chunghow's wise counsels were not listened to. Further, the two Tientsin magistrates readily perceived that their conduct would draw down on them energetic attacks from foreigners; and clinging to the last moment to the hostile disposition of the rebel party among the Tientsin population, they fabricated and sent out by two hundred of their accomplices petitions to Tsäng Kwohfan calumniating the foreigners. In this manner they hoped to be able to justify their conduct on the 21st of June.

General Chun Kwoh-jui had been at Tientsin for some days with several braves. His defenders acknowledge that he held imprudent designs from the time of his arrival. When the riot broke out, he left his

coat

boat and went to a Chinese inn, from-
whence he went on horseback alone to
the head of the Consulate, where he -
looked about, and on his personal order
caused the bridge [of boats] to be closed,
which Chunghow, animated with the -
best intentions, had opened. In this way
he cleared a passage for a crowd drunk
with blood and rapine, whom he fur-
ther urged on by crying out, "Burn!
"I am with you! I have heard it said
"that the Tientsin people are fine fellows;
"let us destroy the foreigners and their
"establishments."

All the previous acts of this man exhibited just such conduct. It was not two years ago, since he divided the plunder got from the pillage of our mission houses near Ho-kien fu with the nienfei; and did he not recently leave terrible traces of his passage through Nanking, Chinkiang and Yangchow? Besides, what opinion can we have of a high functionary, who pretends to

prove

prove an alibi under such circumstances, by saying that during the massacre, he was on board of his boat in the midst of his debaucheries?

All the statements now brought forward are based on the most authentic and independant testimony that it is possible to obtain in China. Details which have not been proven by eye-witnesses have been carefully discarded, no matter what degree of notoriety they have had. If the investigation had been pursued in public, and with the help of European legal processes, it would doubtless have been possible to have deepened the culpability of the three accused; but in a county like China, and considering the little zeal that Tsäng Kwohfan and his subordinates have shown in seeking out and punishing the guilty, it is rather surprising that we have been able so soon to collect so many positive facts, compromising the Prefect, the district-magistrate, and General Chun Kwoh-jui.

Public

Public opinion among the Europeans or the Christians, and even among the natives, at Tientsin, so far as the Chargé d'Affaires of France was able to ascertain during his visit there, is unanimous as to the guilt of these personages; and it is really surprising that Tsăng Kwohfan is the only man who treats as lies or rumors all the facts which tend to implicate these magistrates, whom he beforehand has decided are innocent. It is astonishing that it was only since M. de Rochechouart's arrival in Tientsin, that they received orders from the Governor-general to leave the city before they could prove their innocence. It undoubtedly can be shown that the prefect and magistrate did not at least imbue their hands in blood, for the unfortunate victims were killed by assassins belonging to the fire-companies, and especially to the one usually known under the designation of Hun-tsinsz'.

The

The name of these murderers is in - everybody's mouth; and one eye-witness says he heard that it was a man named Chang Tiao who gave the unfortunate M. Fontanier the thrust of the - pike which finished him.

Doubtless the punishment of the assassins is necessary and even indispensible; but before attending to them, it is important that Chinese - justice should take in hand those who conceived and executed such a tragedy. The central Government, by persisting in the attitude it has taken since the 21st of June, in doing nothing, seriously compromises its own dignity, not only in the eyes of France, but in those of the whole civilized world. One cannot, without a shudder, regard the spectacle of a Government too weak to punish murderers, or so ill advised as to be unwilling to do it.

(Circulated at Peking, August 25. 1870.)

Dispatch N: 27
Inclosure: B

Count: Rochechouart's dispatch to
Governor-general Tsäng Kuoh-fan, &c

Tientsin, July 19th 1870

Before I left Peking, I sent a dis-
patch to your Excellency, which miscarried
and was probably not received, in which
I said that so far as I had heard and
could ascertain with respect to the doings
at Tientsin on the 21st of June, there
was no doubt that both the prefect and
district magistrate aided in all the reck-
less and cruel acts of that day. In ad-
dition to what I stated in that dispatch,
I may remark that all my suspicions
respecting the complicity of those officers,
have been confirmed, and further in-
quiry has only proved their truth. In
fact, their savage conduct is worse than
one would have believed, and justice
cannot be vindicated unless their lives
are forfeited, and I will not be satisfied
with anything short of it.

On

On the 28th of June, I addressed Prince Kung on this subject; and what I stated to your Excellency at the interview today, did not differ materially from what I had previously said to his Imperial Highness. Among the seventeen French subjects killed were the consul and attaches of the consulate and Legation, all of them so barbarously killed and mutilated, that one would think those who ordered the doing of such savage acts of wanton cruelty must have been mad.

I have received strict orders from the Emperor of France, as his Representative in China, to conform to treaty stipulations, and protect the persons and property of all French subjects; and when I got these orders, I was also specially instructed, that, if at any time, I was unable to do so fully, I was to confer with the Admiral in command of the French fleet, and obtain his aid. A whole month has now elapsed since the French were killed, and no measures

have

have yet been taken for arresting the guilty men, which leaves all Frenchmen still exposed to the same danger. Admiral Dupré will soon reach this port; and I therefore now inform your Excellency that if by that time those who excited this riot, the prefect, magistrate, and Gen. Chin, have not been executed, I will no longer take the responsibility of this affair. In the interval, the whole can be decided as was proposed between us, and on the Admiral's arrival he can take his own measures for protecting his countrymen.

It is my earnest request that you settle it in this way; for those who would excuse this atrocity, as some of the Foreign Office have done, can only be regarded as upholding and urging on the enemies of the dynasty. I do not agree with their mode of action; and much as I wish to place confidence in their declarations, I cannot believe them unless these three men are immediately executed.

If it be true, as is generally reported, that Ma, the governor-general at Nanking,

has

has been able to devise measures to protect the missionaries so that no riot has arisen, there can be no reasonable doubt that this province also has a governor-general who can protect life throughout its borders, pacify its disturbances and punish delinquent officers. Why then did twenty days elapse after receiving the Emperor's decree before you reached Tientsin, and even then showed that you had nothing to propose to prevent trouble?

Just as I am sending off this dispatch to you, a letter has come to me from Chifu, stating that the French Admiral will reach Tientsin this evening or to-morrow morning.

Dispatch N: 27
Inclosure 8

Gov. Gen. Tsäng Kwoh-fan's Reply to Count-Rochechouart. July 21. 1870

I yesterday had the honor to receive your Excellency's dispatch of the previous day, and also a former one of the 7th inst., written from Peking.

In consequence of the riot of the 21st of June at Tientsin, I have been honored with instructions from the Throne to come here to manage and ascertain all things pertaining to it. There is no doubt, when the people sounded their gongs to assemble the crowd, and the mob killed M. Fontanier the consul with the missionaries, and burned their establishments, that the prefect and district magistrate of Tientsin did not exert themselves to protect the one or restrain the other, thus causing this very serious affair. Their guilt and negligence admit of no palliation. Yet whatever this lache caused, there is no doubt that they,

in

in their own hearts, cherished no desire to – destroy or injure foreigners, and there is no proof at all that they stirred up and led on [the mob].

General Chin is not an officer of this province, and when in Tientsin was on his way from Kiangnan to Peking, and totally unconnected with this affair.; since my arrival here, I have ascertained that the reports of his being mixed up with the riot are all idle rumors. The two local authorities have already been suspended from office for their mismanagement on this occasion; and as the matter is a very momentous one, I have already memorialized the Throne, requesting their degradation and trial before the Board of Punishments to fix their sentence, for not having taken precautionary measures to avert the row, and for not arresting the guilty actors afterwards, – both of them grievous offenses. I have likewise fully informed the Foreign Office of these charges against Gen. Chin, who is now in the capital,

capital, that orders may be given for his examination as to their character, and due action be taken upon his conduct.

I have also received repeated commands to arrest the leaders and abettors of this riot, but as the disposition of the people of Tientsin is giddy and conceited, I must take heed lest something worse be stirred up. It seems to me that what first excited the feelings of the populace were the rumors prevalent that, in the Roman Catholic establishments, the eyes and hearts of little children who had been bewitched and carried off, were cut out. Not only was this the case in Tientsin, but in many other provinces too; years ago in Hunan and Kiangsi, and more recently in Tientsin and Yangchau, as well as Ta-ming and Kwang-ping in this province, inflammatory placards and exciting stories were circulated, saying that they dug out eyes, defiled women, kidnapped children, &c., &c. Altho' the cases which arose at

Those

those places were all settled, the truth or-
falsehood of these reports were not clearly
made known, so that not only the uned-
ucated people, but the officials and
scholars also really believed them. Thus
causes of dislike and anger were every-
where cherished, and it was easy to stir
up an émeute; and owing to this feeling,
wherever the missionaries went in the
provinces, they met slanderous rumors
and suspicions, that filled them with a
sense of dread and concern.

I have fully ascertained that
there is not the least ground for believing
these reports, and have accordingly memo-
ialized His Majesty to promulgate a lucid
decree, stating that there is no probability
in the stories about cutting out eyes and
hearts; this would tend to wipe out the
wrong done to the foreign Romish estab-
lishments, clear up the suspicions of the
gentry, and quiet the resentment of the
common people.

The real origin of this popular
excitement

excitement and the odium of the Tien-
tsin community, is owing to the deep
dislike to the French caused by these
wild stories. When the whole matter is
cleared up and made known, the guilty
parties can be arrested without fear of
causing any disturbance. On the day
of the riot, the people were in such a
state of tumult, running together in crowds,
that it will require much careful scru-
tiny to ascertain who were the leaders
and who were their followers. When
the guilty have been distinguished from
the innocent, their names will be known,
and the men arrested for examination -
and condign punishment without any
fear of needless tumult. Strict orders
have been issued to the new prefect
and district magistrate to hasten the
arrest of the guilty persons, when no
leniency will be shown to the rioters,
who are convicted, and no delay in exhi-
biting the manner in which massacre
is punished.

The

The Foreign Office has already received His Majesty's commands to rebuild and repair the French Consulate (known as the Sea Belvedere), the Cathedral, and the Infirmary of the Sisters of Charity, which were destroyed; and I have myself instructed the acting prefect Ma to act diligently in concert with the gentry of the town, and quickly repair every portion. The killing of the French subjects is a cause of the deepest regret; and the Foreign Office has received Instructions to exhibit the utmost compassion in all that pertains to them, and to act liberally to the families of those who lost their lives.

I am now diligently carrying out these instructions as I am able; but my eyes are very painful, and their dimness almost prevents my seeing at all, so that I had even asked for a short leave of absence. This is the reason for the delay in my reaching Tientsin. But though

though ailing I have come to attend to this affair, and whatever belongs to me to do in it, or which I can carry out, shall be accomplished to the extent of my powers and with strict regard to justice. Let not the feelings of your countrymen, officials or merchants, be over bitter towards the people of Tien-tsin for this matter, therefore; and when the foreign Ministers pass to and fro on their way through the town, they will surely be well received, and their future intercourse will be conducted in a friendly manner.

The conduct of the heedless-people of this city in disgracing the flag of France is to be arranged; and His Majesty's order has been received appointing Chunghow to proceed to France with a letter making known the friendly feelings of the Emperor of China to the Emperor of the French, and his earnest desire to perpetuate amicable relations with him. I think that your Excellency's

Leney's sense of equity and spirit for peace are such that you will fully appreciate the circumstances under which this has been done.

Dispatch N°: 27
Enclosure D

Reply of Count Rochechouart to Gov. Gen'l Tsăng Kwoh-fan. Tientsin, July 22. 1870

I received your Excellency's dispatch of yesterday, in which you speak of clearing up and dispelling the absurd rumors prevalent among the common people, and removing the suspicions felt by the official and literary classes, — a mode of action that is exceedingly wise, and indicates your full knowledge of all the circumstances of the case. But seeing that no adequate efforts have been put forth for repressing disorder, no one arrested, nor any of the guilty condemned to death, your Excellency's widom and acts do not altogether correspond.

It is in fact hard to restrain one's self when speaking of this matter:— the two local magistrates and Gen. Chin all taking the lead in raising such riotous proceedings on the 21st ult°, when seventeen innocent persons were massacred, their houses and churches burned, and the flag

of

of France dishonored, such acts of barbarity as are only done among savages noted for fierceness and atrocity. Searching through the records of the past, I can find no such deeds done among people claiming to be civilized; but judging from your Excellency's manner of dealing with the case, you look upon it as a very trifling thing, in which I can by no means agree.

Prince Kung's note to me, in which he says that the entire management of the Tientsin tragedy has been committed to you, induced me to suppose that together we could devise a way to settle it, and leads me to make this communication. But as the result of to-day's deliberation is just the same as of the other day, I now again request that you will, on your own responsibility, proceed to the sentence of the three officials in question and execute them, without further reference to the Board of Punishments, or waiting for the arrival of Admiral Dupré, who will then do it where the crime was perpetrated.

Your

Your Excellency speaks of the giddy and conceited disposition of the people of Tientsin, and that you must be careful lest something worse be stirred up; but let me ask you carefully to reflect whether the indignant anger of French soldiers is not more likely to raise confusion and stir up wrath? So also, when you speak of not being over bitter towards the people of Tientsin for this act, – are not the real murderers still at large, – and how, pray, am I to prevent this feeling of strong bitterness and anger against them from arising?

I therefore most earnestly beseech you to seriously ponder on the present state of this affair; here in this city, the two parties to it are in a state of antagonism, but how long can they remain so without coming to a violent issue? Some measures must be adopted to settle it, for otherwise I cannot long restrain the indignation of people. If you fear what the populace may say about it, and ap-

prehend

prehend that it might be hard to prevent violence or disturbance, let me assure you that the troubles and calamities which will come are likely to be far more grievous, and the denunciation for their results will fall on you. If you can bring yourself to assent to my proposal in respect to the punishment of these three officers, this affair will not be difficult to settle; but if otherwise the innocent inhabitants of Tientsin will experience the greatest suffering and misery, which really will all be chargeable to your action, and have been brought upon them by your partial and unwise course of conduct.

Dispatch N: 27
Inclosure 1

Gov. Gen. Tsăng's reply to Count Rochechouart.

July 25. 1870

I have received your Excellency's dispatch of the 22d inst., in which you remark that no adequate efforts have been put forth for repressing disorder, no one arrested, nor any murderers executed. To this I beg to reply, that the new Intendant and Prefect have been straitly enjoined to search out and quickly arrest all the guilty persons engaged in the riot of the 21st ult:; and certainly no lenieney will be shown to the criminals who are found guilty, but the law will take its course. However, the people of the town were so crowded that it is not possible to tell certainly who were leaders on that day, and who were their followers; but several names have just been obtained, and orders have been given to arrest the men and examine them by torture, by which the names of their associates can be ascertained, and on seizure, and trial, if found guilty, all these will suffer the extreme penalty of the law, thus vindicating the laws of the Middle

Kingdom

Kingdom, and also allaying the indignation of your countrymen. These men will no doubt be, many of them, arrested within a few days, and there will be no delay in punishing the guilty, so that you may make yourself easy on that score.

You also, in your dispatch, demand that the lives of the two local magistrates and of Gen. Chin, be forfeited. In my last dispatch, I mentioned that the latter was in Tientsin on his way to Peking, and was entirely disconnected with this affair. He is now in the capital, and I yesterday sent a request to the Foreign Office that he might presently be examined in relation to this affair; and on receiving their reply, I will make further inquiries with a view to see what ought to be done.

The prefect and magistrate, who failed so greatly in performing their duties, were suspended from their offices on my arrival here; and as their case is a very serious one, partly because they took no suitable measures to prevent the outbreak, and also because they were unable to arrest the

guilty

guilty actors in it soon after, I have memo-
rialized His Majesty to have them degraded
and handed to the Board of Punishments for
strict trial and severe punishment. Seeing that
you demand that I should myself condemn
them to forfeit their lives, it seems to me ne-
cessary, before proceeding to that length, to as-
certain whether they had a murderous intention,
and how they manifested it. It is certain that
neither of them raised the hand to kill any one,
and there is no proof that they took the lead
to do it; and as I am unable to point out pre-
cisely what is their crime, I cannot punish
what is not clearly proved.

As you are so clearly convinced that their
guilt deserves death, I now request that you
will specify the counts in your indictment, and
then I shall have the evidence against them on
record, and of course will be able to manage their
case equitably. Since I came here, however, I
have learned of three acts of the prefect Chang
since the riot. Two days after it, some robbers
plundered the houses of Su Lao-i and other
Catholics, when he went himself to the east of

the

the river and suppressed the disturbance. He also exposed a man in the cangue, who had accused a Catholic in his court concerning an unsettled account. The third was, the door-keeper of his yamun is a Catholic, and wishing to ascertain who the guilty rioters were, he offered this man a large reward if he could find out and arrest them; and he is still in the prefect's office. These three incidents, though trifling, serve to prove his desire to protect Roman Catholics, and not irritate the feelings of Frenchmen. And tho' there are not the same facts about the magistrate Liu protecting them, he certainly has no desire to injure them in any way.

In making your charges against these officers, therefore, I beg that you will state the particulars, so that they can be sent to the Board to decide upon their character, for all such important cases in our Government are adjudicated by the officers of the Board of Punishments, and provincial authorities have no jurisdiction over them. I hope you will give this matter a careful scrutiny, and inform me of the result of your inquiries.

Dispatch N° 27
Inclosure E

Imperial Edict of August 11. 1870

Tsáng Kwoh-fan and his associates have memorialized Us to the effect that the French Chargé d'Affaires still maintains his former opinion, and that he was about to return to Peking for further consultation upon the management of this affair.

M. Rochechouart's demands are unreasonable and menacing, and his request that the prefect and magistrate of Tien-tsin atone for their crime with their lives involves a principle that can on no account be granted. An order was yesterday sent to Tsien Ting-ming (the provincial treasurer) to take these two

officers

officers to Tientsin, where Tsäng-
Kwoh-fan could take their personal
depositions and send them to Count
de Rochechouart, in the hope that
they would expedite the settlement
of the affair. But as he cannot obtain
what he desires, he now returns in
displeasure to the capital. At this
time, when both native and foreign
officials are alike desirous to arrange
this matter, let Prince Kung and the
members of the Foreign Office firmly
maintain a decided policy and
devise plans for preventing danger
growing out of it. Let Tsäng Kwoh-
fan and his colleagues continue
to arrest the murderous wretches
who caused the riot, and quickly bring
them to strict justice.

Ask Sig Nov Advs nos 26

Mr. Pratt

DEPARTMENT RECEIVED NOV 25 1870 OF STATE

No 28

Frederick F. Low

to

Department of State

Peking September 15 1870

Acknowledges receipt of Department despatches Nos 11 and 12, and makes observations about the propositions of Great Britain with reference to suppressing piracy in the China Seas

No 28

Legation of the United States
Peking September 15 1870

Sir:-

I have the honor to acknowledge the reception of your despatches No 11 and 12:- the former enclosing copy of a note from Baron Gerolt concerning a proposal for a combined movement for suppressing piracy in Chinese waters, and the latter instructing me to convey to the Imperial Government

Hon Hamilton Fish
Secretary of State

Government the thanks of the
President for the aid rendered
by certain Mandarins to the
officers and crew of the Bark
Paiseo, wrecked on Flat Ruf,
on the 18th of March last

This instruction will be carried
into effect as soon as I can
obtain from the Consul at
Amoy the necessary data on
which to base a note to Prince
Kung that will be clear and
intelligible

Despr With reference to the subject
matter of your No 11 I would
observe that, in my No 11 of
21st June last I gave you
the result of the best opinions

I

I had been able to form
concerning the suppression of
piracy. Subsequent
investigation and enquiry
confirm me in the opinions
then expressed

The proposition of Great
Britain contained in Baron
Gerolts note — "to allow the
"chief of command of individual
"expeditions to be directed by the
"rank and priority in service of
"the Commanders taking part
"in the same" — would, I
should think, be open to grave
objections, and be likely to
hinder, rather than promote,
coöperation. Officers of
the

the Navy are jealous of their prerogatives, which such an arrangement would materially interfere with. They would, I imagine, hesitate before joining in an expedition where its entire direction would be under the control of officers of another nationality.

Admiral Rodgers, to whom this whole matter is entrusted, and in whose judgment every confidence may be placed, will, undoubtedly, be able to form a more correct opinion about it than I can; and any steps he may deem proper to take will have

my

my cordial cooperation and
aid, so far as my efforts to
can be of any service. God

I have the honor to be
Sir,
Your obedient servant
Frederick F. Low

Ent
MD

Aug 21 Dec

DEPARTMENT OF STATE RECEIVED NOV 25 1870

No. 29 12 Enclosures

FOREIGN Relations '70

Frederick F. Low

to

Department of State

Peking September 17. 1870

Informs the Department of the
removal of the Missionaries from
Tungchow to Chefoo, in two
British vessels of war, and
encloses correspondence giving
information of the removal and the causes

No 29 12 Enclosures

Legation of the United States
Peking September 17. 1870

Sir.

I have the honor to inform you that, in consequence of rumors of threatened violence by the Chinese, and a general belief that an organized attack would be made upon them on the 15th of the 7th Moon (September 10) the Missionaries residing at Tungchow, about 40 miles from Chefoo, in the Province of Shantung, determined to remove, with their families, to Chefoo

Hon Hamilton Fish
Secretary of State

Chefoo for safety. The correspondence, copies of which I beg to enclose, will give you all the information that I possess. The only direct information is contained in the letter of the Rev. Mr Cobbi; for the rest I am indebted to the courtesy of the British Chargé d'affaires who kindly allowed me to read and take copies of the report, with its enclosures, of the British Acting Consul at Chefoo. Up to the present moment I have heard nothing from the U S Vice Consul

I am quite free to admit that I was exceedingly vexed and mortified on learning that

that the services of British vessels had been sought to remove these people, when there was a U.S. gun boat at Tientsin that could have gone to their relief, in three or four days; and also in being obliged to seek information, as to what had been done, through the British Legation, when reports from the U.S. Vice Consul should have been made to me without delay.

Were there an American resident at Chefoo who would accept the position, I should be strongly inclined to advise the summary removal of Mr. Holmes and the appointment of a

a better man. Unfortunately there are no persons resident there fitted for the position who will accept it for the emoluments, and I suppose the reputation of the United States must continue to suffer from such representations as the Vice Consul at Chefoo,

Prior to the receipt of the news of their removal the missionaries had made no complaint, nor had I heard from them, or the Vice Consul at Chefoo, that any trouble was apprehended. From all I am able to learn I cannot but think the missionaries are unduly alarmed, and their actions precipitate.

precipitate; at the same time, the public mind is so much excited by rumors, the truth of which is so difficult to ascertain from the Chinese, — that even the coolest and most courageous among the foreigners are liable to over-estimate the danger, and adopt measures for protection which they afterwards ascertain were unnecessary

In reply to Mr Capp's letter to me I have advised them to return as soon as they can feel any safety in so doing; and, as it would have a good moral effect, I shall try to have them go back on one of our men-of-

-war

-war. The "Monocacy" is expected at Chefoo shortly — as soon, probably, as they will be ready

I have written a strong note to the Prince, informing him of the unsettled state of affairs at Tientsin, and asking him to take measures for the protection of foreign residents; and have improved the occasion to review the Tientsin affair, — charging the troubles elsewhere to the evil effects of the news of the riots

No answer has been received, as yet — As soon as a reply comes I will send you a copy of my note and the Prince's response.

The

The proclamations of the local officials at Tungchow are timely, strongly put and, I hope, will do good

Acting Consul Mayers in his report to the British Chargé d'Affaires expresses my views so well concerning this whole affair that I quote from his report; "The resident Missionaries "are, it may be presumed, the best "judges with regard to the steps it "behooved them to take in view of "their feeling of insecurity and the "known faithlessness of Chinese officials, "but I cannot repress a feeling of "regret that so much encouragement "has been given to the anti foreign "party as the withdrawal from Tungchow"

will

will, I conceive, result in I am
apprehensive that their departure
will not only produce a profound
impression locally, but being reported
and exaggerated in distant parts
of the Country, may be expected to
embolden the hostile spirit which
appears to have grown up of late.

If the Chinese find that
the Missionaries can be induced to
abandon their posts of duty by
threats of violence, they will, very
soon, Constitute a repulsed army
retreating in the face of the enemy

I have the honor to be
Sir
Your Obedient Servant
Frederick F Low

List of enclosures in Despatch 29

A Letter of E P Cabb to Fred^k F Low

B Letter J F Nevins to S A Holmes Vice Consul

C Report of British Acting Consul to Chargé

D Vice Consul Holmes to Admiral Kellett

E Admiral Kellett to Vice Consul Holmes

F S A Holmes to Sir Henry Kellett

G Admiral Kellett to S A Holmes

H C W Mallet to Mr Holmes, Chefoo

I Fred^k F Low to Edwd P Cabb & others

J Fred^k F Low to Thos Francis Wade

K Proclamation of Prefect, Tungchow

L Proclamation of Ch^f Military Mandarin Tungchow

Enclosure A
Despatch 29

Chefoo, China
September 2d. 1870

His Excellency
Frederick F. Low
American Minister, Peking.

Sir,

Permit us to submit to your consideration the following: At Tungchow in the Province of Shantung, the rumors had been circulating for months of an intended attack upon the foreigners residing there and the natives attached to them, became so definite and apparently well-founded, that we could no longer ignore them.

At a meeting of the foreign community,-who are all American citizens, held Aug 29th it was decided that we should temporarily leave the

the place. We accordingly addressed a note, a copy of which marked A we inclose, to Mr Holmes the American Consul at Chefoo. In the absence of an American Gunboat, he made application to H E Vice Admiral Sir Henry Kellett K C B. H B M Naval Commander-in-chief, who with great kindness sent the "Barossa" and the "Grasshopper" to our assistance, and secured our safe departure on Thursday Sept 1st, inst. We have written to Sir Henry Kellett the note, a copy of which marked B we inclose, in acknowledgement of his kindness.

Before our departure, in interviews with the local officers we

we could obtain no guarantee for the safety of our lives and property. Within twenty four hours, however, after our arrival at Chefoo the Chihsien (District Magistrate) of Yungchow reported the fact of our leaving to the Taotai at Chefoo, who in a communication to the American Consul depricates our departure and cordially invites our immediate return

We beg leave to bring these statements to your notice, and would consider it a great favor if you will kindly give us your judgment as to the course of conduct proper for us to pursue under the circumstances

circumstances

We am sir

Jour respectfully

Your obedient Servants

Edward P Cabbs

On behalf of the American

Citizens residents at Tsingchow

Enclosure B
Despatch 29

Tungchow Aug 29. 1870

S A Holmes Esq

U S Consul

Dear Sir

I am requested by a unanimous vote of the American residents here to write to you on their behalf, to request you to obtain a steamer, a gun-boat if possible, to come to Tungchow Thursday morning of this week to remove us from this place; - the reason for this action I will give below,

We have credible ~~grounds for~~ believing that official communications were received here some time back from Tsêng-guo-fan, and from the Governor of the Province calling upon the authorities and the people to make

arrangements

arrangements for massacreing foreigners generally some time this Fall. It is believed here that the Chi-hien and the principal military officers who were summoned to the provincial Capital some weeks ago went for the express purpose of being instructed as to what they should do with us, and as to the preparations they should make for defending the City in case of war. The Chi-hien came back from Chi-nan-foo last week went on to Chefoo immediately to communicate with the Taotai and has returned to Tungchow. The chief Military Mandarin of this City is expected here three days hence, and it is said that he is bringing 2000 soldiers with him. Some reports state that in the event of

[the punishment] ?

of the Chinese in Tientsin they will take their revenge on us here - others that they will hold us as hostages.

We hear that a very large military force is being collected in Chi-nan-fu. There is a great deal of excitement here again, and since the return of the Chi-hsien the principal men of the City are holding frequent conferences with the officers

We have learned from independent sources that the people are divided - some of them opposing any movement against us, and some of them favoring it. The people generally expect an attack will be made upon us on the 16th of the present Chinese Months. We have received intelligence from our

Native

native christians in Ping-tai and
Lai-yang confirming these reports.
Chinese connected with us are
urged by their friends to get away
from us by all means before the
15th and there is reason to anticipate
that they may be obliged to do so
in order to save their lives, if we
remain here longer. It is very
probable that it will be impossible
to leave Tungchow if we delay long.
We think that even now we would
find it difficult in getting away
by the ordinary modes of travel
I might refer to other rumors
had I time and were it necessary
It is with great reluctance
that we have determined to send
you this communication, but
under

under the circumstances we think the risk too great to remain longer

Our plan is to leave our homes in the care of the officers. We would be glad to have you come as an official representative in communicating with them.

We will be ready to leave early Thursday morning. If no gun-boat or steamer can be obtained we would be greatly obliged if Mr Mayers will fulfill the promise he has already made, to come to us in his boat. Perhaps two boats would be required.

There are here five gentlemen five ladies and eight children, and we would like to take with us a few Chinese.

If a steamer cannot come

to

do us on Thursday please com-
municate with us at the earliest
moment by special post

I am sir

On behalf of the American residents here

Yours truly

(Sgd) J. L. Irving

Enclosure 2
Despatch 29

British Consulate
Chefoo Sept 2. 1870

Sir:-

I have the honor to report to you that on the application of Mr Holmes, the U S Vice Consul at this Port, the American Missionaries residing at Tsungchow, 40 miles distant from Chefoo, were yesterday removed hither by H M^s ships "Barrosa" and "Grasshopper", at the urgent request of the missionaries themselves

I received a note late in the evening of Tuesday the 30th August, from Mr Holmes, who Thos Francis Wade Esq enclosed H B M Chargé d'affaires

Peking

enclosed to me a letter he had received from Futag Chow, and intimated his intention of soliciting assistance on the following morning from Vice Admiral Sir Henry Kellett. Conversation took place on the 31st between Mr Holmes and the Admiral, who subsequently furnished me with copies of the four letters mutually exchanged, transcripts of which I now enclose for your information

Having been requested by Admiral Kellett to call on the U S Vice Consul after the receipt of his first letter, I found Mr Holmes apparently sharing my own opinion, that the apprehensions

apprehensions of the Ministers
of official designs against them
were exaggerated, and based on
insufficient information,
although excusable, doubtless
in view of their exposed position,
the prevailing popular excitement
and the anti-foreign spirit
evoked by the massacre at
Tientsin. The reasons given
by the Ministers for deciding
on immediate removal are
set forth in the letter from
Mr Stevens, which is annexed
to Mr Holmes' first
letter to the Admiral, in addition
to which Mr Holmes further
supplied me with a letter
written at the same time by
the Revd Mr Lapp to Mr
Corbett

Corbett

Corbett of this place, a copy
of which I also enclose
herewith

After seeing Sir Henry
Kellett, I called at his request
upon the Taotai, whom I
sounded, in the course of the
conversation, with reference
to the affairs at Tungchow
He professed surprise on
hearing that the Missionaries
were again disturbed by rumors
of hostile designs, which he
treated with ridicule, and
begged me to take notice that
he held himself personally
responsible for complete
security of the Missionaries
I expressed my satisfaction
on

on hearing these assurances
from his lips, coupled with
the further undertaking which
he volunteered to visit at once
to his subordinates at Tungchow
to take measures for checking
the spread of idle reports and
for assuring the safety of the
foreign denizens of the town
I did not think it expedient
to make known to him that
they contemplated immediate
removal, as I was still un-
-certain whether this would
actually take place. I
communicated to Mr Holmes
the result of my interview
with the Taotai

In the course of the
day

day further letters came in from Tungchow, announcing the fixed determination of the Missionaries to leave the place at once, and expressing con-
=tinued alarm. I am permitted by Mr Bidwell of the Customs, to whom one of these letters is addressed, to forward a copy to you, and I enclose the same herewith. Mr Holmes thereupon add-
=ressed a positive application to Admiral Kellett for the imm-
-ediate dispatch of a Men-of-War, and the Corvette "Bacchante" and gun-boat "Grasshopper" were accordingly ordered to proceed at daylight on the following

Morning

morning to render assistance as requested. Sir Henry Kellett being desirous that an interpreter should accompany the Commanding Officer, to assist him in communication if necessary with boat people or others near the vessels I directed Mr Colbeck to proceed on this service, with instructions, Copy of which I enclose. The two vessels reached Tungchow at about 11 a.m. and the embarkation of the Mussulmans and their families was com-
-pleted by 3 P.M. without any difficulty or molestation on the part of the people. The number brought away

consisted

consisted of three men, five
women and five children;
two of the Missionaries
remaining behind to arrange
if possible with the local
officials respecting the safe
custody of their houses and
property

The Rev^d Mr Nevius
called upon me this morning
and explained to me at some
length the reasons which had
actuated himself and his
colleagues in returning from
Fungchow. Without giving
credence to the numerous
reports of malignant intentions
toward the Missionaries and
foreigners generally which
emanated

emanated, they are informed, from the Governor of the Province, they were nevertheless thought their position so insecure as to have them no option but to abandon it. The circumstance giving the greatest cause for alarm — among the multitude of minor incidents — was the reported approach of a reinforcement of 2000 men to the garrison of Tungchow, who were said to be marching from the Provincial Capital. It appears to have been openly stated throughout the City, that the foreigners would be murdered on the 10th of this Month (the 15th of the 8th Moon) and

and it was thought that the constant repetition of such a prediction unhindered by the presence of any protective force, might work its own fulfilment, through the excitement of the masses, even if no such sinister design originally existed

The resident Missionaries are, it may be presumed, the best judges with regard to the steps it behooved them to take in view of their feeling of insecurity and the known faithlessness of the Chinese officials, but I cannot refrain a feeling of regret that so much encouragement should have been

been given to the anti-foreign party as this withdrawal from Tungchow will, I conceive, result in. I am apprehensive that their de= =parture will not only pro= =duce a profound impression locally, but being reported in an exaggerated form in distant parts of the Country, may be expected to embolden the hostile spirit which appears to have grown up of late

Your obedient servant
(Sgd) W F Mayers
Acting Consul

(2)

Enclosure D
Despatch 29

United States Consulate

Chefoo Aug 31. 1870

Sir

I have the honor to hand you herewith for your perusal a letter just received from Revd J. L. Nevius D D residing at Tung Chow which will explain itself

The news from there being of rather an alarming character and the people deeming it unsafe to remain there longer, in the absence of an American Man of War, if it would not be asking too much may I request that your Excellency will be kind enough to allow a Gunboat to go to their assistance, pending your consideration of the necessary The residents there

H.E. Vice Admiral
Sir Henry Kellett
&c &c &c

Eighteen

Eighteen in number, men women and children, have made arrangements according to the letter herewith to leave to-morrow the 1st Sebh

I am Sir

&c &c

(Signed) J A Holmes

U S Vice Consul

Enclosure No
Despatch 29

H B M S Salamis

Chefoo 31st Aug 1870

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of this date enclosing a letter from the Revd Dr Stevens of Tungchow representing that in consequence of certain alarming reports the American Missionaries are desirous of removing themselves and their families to Chefoo, and requesting that if I consider it necessary as there is no United States Vessel of War present, I will send an English gun-boat to bring them away

I am etc &c &c

To A Holmes Esq
U S Vice Consul
Chefoo

Yours

point out to you, that you as the United States Consul are the proper person to decide on the necessity, on the evidence before you, of removing the American Citizens, but I need not assure you that if I receive any requisition from you to afford succor to them, I would immediately comply with it if able

Just at this moment the only suitable vessel — the Grasshopper Gun-boat — is under repair and unfit for sea, but I have reason to believe that if, on reflection, you consider that assistance should be sent to Dr Nevins and his colleagues, an application made to the proper authorities

will

will result in the detachment of the Chinese gun-boats, now ~~lying~~ in harbour, to Tungchow to bring them away

My information leads to the opinion that the apprehensions of the missionaries are greater than necessary, and it is worth bearing in mind that their withdrawal, simultaneously from Tungchow, which is not a Treaty Port, and forsaking their houses and property, will probably give them much embarrassment in the future, as opportunities will certainly be actively made to their return by the anti-foreign party

I have &c

Sgd Henry Kellett
Rear Admiral and
Commander-in-Chief

Enclosure 5
Despatch 29

U.S. Consulate

Chefoo Aug 31st/70

Sir:-

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your despatch in reply to mine of today regarding the removal of the American Missionaries from Tungchow and for which I am under many obligations.

Since receiving your despatch I have received other letters from the Missionaries at Tungchow, and as they have all decided that it is dangerous to remain longer and have decided

Vice Admiral to

Sir Henry Kellett K.C.B.

&c &c &c

to come away immediately
I deem it necessary, from
their statements, that a vessel
should be sent to enable
them to get away; therefore
as the representative of a
friendly Power, and in the
absence of American Vessels,
if it is not asking too much
of your Excellency, may
I respectfully request that
you will be kind enough
to have a gun-boat or other
vessel sent to their relief;
and on behalf of the American
Government and the Mission-
=aries at Tungchow I shall
consider it a very great favor

Thanks &c &c

Signed S A Holmes
U S Navl Consul

Enclosure 4
Dispatch 29

H M S Salamis

Chefoo Aug 31. 1870

Sir:—

I have the honor to acknowledge your second dispatch of this date, in which you still desire I will send a vessel to bring away American Missionaries from Tungchow, and in reply I beg to inform you that I find H M Gun-Boat Grafton can be made ready for sea by tomorrow morning and will proceed on this service at daylight

On arrival at Tungchow, she will anchor off the town, hoist her ensign at the mast head and be prepared to receive any

J A Holmes Esq
U S Consul
Chefoo

American

American citizens and their families and their servants, but no other persons

The commander of the gun-boat will not land, nor send the boats on shore, and I request you will have the goodness to send a despatch to Dr Stevens by the Grapeshot impressing upon him the urgent necessity of the embarkation taking place without delay

I have &c

Sgd Henry Kellett

Vice Admiral and

Commander-in-Chief

Enclosure H
Despatch 79

Copy of a private letter from Rev. C. W. Mateer of Tungchow to Mr Holcomb Chefoo

Tungchow Aug 30/70

Dear Holcomb

You will no doubt have learned before this reaches you that we are getting scared up in Tungchow. I have not time to write upon the particulars. They have been written in full to the American Consul. I am still however inclined to think that we are worse scared than hurt. I believe there is danger but I doubt if it is great enough to justify us in leaving. I have expressed my views to the others but they

Cary

Carry it against me and of
course I must act with the
rest I dont think I am
up sensible of the danger than
the rest but I am willing to
run greater risks for the sake
of the interests that are at
stake. I have not yet made
up my mind to go with the
rest, but of course I cannot
tell till the time comes. It
is possible that the knowledge
of the fact that we are
"mobilizing" may develope
things that we are not look
-ing for I hope that the
steamer that comes, will be
prepared to stay at least one
day, as it will be impossible
for

for us to settle whom affairs
with the Mandarins (conveying
our horses to them) in less than
at least one day. I have
never taken a step in my
life that goes so against every
principle of my nature. It
is certainly the greatest trial
I have ever met with. To
Know what it costs to leave
here one must have lived here
for seven years, and labored
as I have. I am much
disturbed for our School,
I fear the disbanding of
it will be disastrous. I
can only say God's will be
done. It may be wise for
us to leave and it may be

a

a piece of folly I wish others could have been persuaded to wait for a little more light. Pray for us that we may be guided aright and preserved from all evil.

Yours fraternally
(Sgd) C W Mateer

Enclosure 1
Dispatch 29

Legation of the United States
Peking Sept 14 1870

Sir:

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your note of 20th inst informing me of the withdrawal of all the Protestant Missionaries from Tungchow, and enclosing copy of Rev Mr Nevius' letter to the US Vice Consul at Chefoo giving the reasons for this action. With these came also a copy of your note to Admiral Kellett thanking him for his humane and generous action in sending vessels to your relief.

In your note you refer to the "reports that had been in circulating for months, of the Rev Edw P Hopkins, are

Chefoo

an intended attack", and speak
of interviews between the mission-
aries and the local officials prior
to the departure of the former, in
which they failed to obtain any
guarantee for the safety of their
lives and property. You also
state that soon after your
arrival in Chefoo the U S Con-
sul received a communication
from the Taotai, in which he
deprecated your departure
and requested your immediate
return to Tungchow. You
close by asking my judgment
as to your future course, in
view of all these considerations

In reply I have to
say that prior to the receipt
of

of your note I had no in-
timation of apprehended trouble
at Tungchow If the reports
referred to had been in circulation
for months, it would seem that
some information should have
been given to the Vice Consul
at Chefoo or to me. If you
did make any communication
to the Vice Consul upon the
subject he failed to apprise
me of the fact.

I regret that your appeals
to the local officers for pro-
tection were not made in
writing; so I might have
some tangible evidence of
their culpability in not af-
fording protection, on which

5

to base a complaint to the
Authorities in Peking
As it is, I have sent a strong
note to Prince Kung concerning
this matter, and have improved
the occasion to point out the
causes which led to this un-
happy state of affairs; and
impressed upon him the necessity
of prompt action on the part
of the Government in order to
avoid consequences that may
be disastrous. As yet no
reply has been received, but
I hear unofficially that a
stringent orders went im-
mediately to the Provincial
Authorities in Shantung
which will, I hope, have

a good effect.

Without pretending to question the propriety of your views in view of the danger which appeared to surround you, and conceding that you ought to be able to judge better of the value of the reports than I possibly can at this distance, I cannot refrain a feeling of keen regret that you felt compelled to abandon, even temporarily, a field which had cost such a struggle to win; and that your action will be likely to strengthen the anti-foreign feeling not only in Tungchow but in other places, and render the residence

residence of missionaries in China more uncomfortable than it has been hitherto.

My opinion is that, the male members of your mission should return at the earliest moment they can get a reasonable assurance of safety; and as you were taken away in a vessel-of-war, I desire very much that you shall return in a United States' vessel, when you go. I expect one or more of the fleet will be at Chefoo shortly, and as soon as I hear of the arrival of any I shall ask that you be returned to your post of duty under the protection

of

of your Country's flag, should you so desire

If one of our vessels should come, and not be likely to remain long enough to communicate with me, you are at liberty to read this letter to the Commanding officer and ask, in my name, the services of his vessel for the purpose indicated above. I hope to hear soon that active and honest measures are being taken by the officials for your protection, and that you are all safely back again at your fields of labor

Your obedient Servant
Frederick F. Low

Enclosure. 1
Despatch 29

Legation of the United States
Peking Sept 17 1870

Sir:-

I am in receipt of information to the effect that, in consequence of reports of an intended attack by the Chinese upon the American Protestant Missionaries at Tangchow in the Province of Shantung, and the usual land communication being considered unsafe, application was made to the U S Vice Consul at Chefoo for relief, to enable them to reach a place of safety

Thomas Francis Wade Esq &c &c
H B M Chargé d affaires
Peking

In the absence of a United States vessel-of-war at Chefoo the Vice Consul made application to Sir Henry Kellett K C B Commanding H M Naval forces in these waters to afford the necessary relief.

With a promptitude characteristic of H M Naval officers, Admiral Kellett dispatched two vessels — the "Barossa" and "Grasshopper" — on the 1st inst to Tungchow, and took away the Missionaries and their families, and landed them safely at Chefoo.

In the name of the Government of the United States, and

and on behalf of the people who were relieved, I beg, most respectfully, to tender to you, and through you to Admiral Kellett, my grateful acknowl=
=edgments for this humane and generous action

I shall improve an early opportunity to lay the facts before my Government, and I would feel obliged if you would make them known to H Bⁿ Government also

I have the honor to be

Sir

Your obedient Servant

Frederick F. Low

Dispatch N: 29
Inclosure K

Proclamation by the Prefect of Tăngchau in Shantung, to which all are to give earnest heed.

Issued Sept. 2. 1870.

It appears that in consequence of the flagitious conduct of lawless men at Tientsin, bewitching and carrying off children, in which they implicated the Roman Catholics there, many people have suspected that a quarrel would grow out of it, and have fomented disturbance. In consequence, every kind of wild rumor has spread from thence thro' the land, which has incited reckless loafers to hatch trouble and fan suspicions, particularly saying that all foreigners are to be killed. These falsehoods have disturbed foreigners

[dwelling

[dwelling here], and led them to suspend their work, and rapidly move away from the place to avoid danger, their converts also laboring under the same erroneous views. Such men, like unscrupulous rascals, can not be suffered for a single day, and it is hard to imagine what object they can have in getting up these suspicions to breed trouble.

I have sent policemen here and there to secretly ascertain who they are and seize them, and I also now issue this proclamation for general information, and call on all soldiers and people, to fully observe its orders. Hereafter, let each of you carefully attend to his own business, and neither start nor give heed to idle canards, calculated to excite trouble and

bing

bring misfortune on yourselves. If any dare to disobey this, they shall be summarily seized, and the lives of themselves and families immediately pay the penalty. They will then have no place for repentance.

Despatch No: 21
Inclosure No

Proclamation by Fu,

Brevet-colonel of the Middle Brigade at Tangchau, &c. &c., strictly prohibiting the circulation of rumors.

Issued Sept. 2. 1870

It is well known that English and American missionaries have lived in this city many years, engaged day and night in disseminating and explaining the holy religion of Jesus, and urging men to be good. Recently, certain fellows among the soldiers and people have been talking wildly about the affair at Tientsin, blabbing this and that strange story, which is nothing less than to utter seditious rumors for the purpose of exciting suspicion and change. Such

men,

men. like reckless villains, are only on
the lookout for a chance to take advan-
tage of some trouble, to rob and sack;
they are all out of the pale of law, and
excite everybody's indignation.

I have secretly sent out
men who are ordered to inquire for
and seize any one found doing these
things; and I further now issue this
plain proclamation for the general
information of all classes of people.
Hereafter, let every one contentedly
attend to his own affairs, and give no
heed to the wild talk about affairs be-
tween natives and foreigners. Whoever
is found violating this command will
be tried in this court, and I shall ask
the higher officers to have him executed

by

by martial law. No leniency will be shown, and let no one therefore say he has not been warned, but let every one give careful heed to this special proclamation.

Ack? Nov 29 with Nov 25 Mr Pratt to Mr Payson

No 30

DEPARTMENT RECEIVED NOV 25 1870 OF STATE

1 Enclosure

Frederick F. Low

to

Department of State

Peking September 20. 1870

Encloses a report of Baron Von Richthofen upon the Provinces of Honan, Hupeh, Honan and Shansi, China

No 30. 1 Enclosure

Legation of the United States

Peking September 20. 1870

Sir:-

Referring to my despatch No 19 of August 2d I have the honor to send herewith a pamphlet, containing the unpublished report referred to in that despatch, of Baron Von Richthofen, together with all his former reports consolidated in this one book. The report upon the mineral wealth of the Province of Shansi is of interest, showing, as it does, that the deposits of iron and coal are without a parallel in the world

The result of his examination

Hon Hamilton Fish Secretary of State

of the Han River contains all
previous opinions as to its naviga-
-bility. According to this report
the Han River is not susceptible
of being navigated by steamers of
any considerable size more than
three or four months in the year,
if at all.

I regret to say that, owing to
the disturbed state of the country,
the Baron's contemplated journey to
Szechuen has been abandoned for
the present. He has now gone to
Japan: When he will return, or whether
he will return at all, will, I presume,
depend upon the restoration of quiet
and order in China. I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant

Frederick F. Low

REPORTS

OF

BARON VON RICHTHOFEN,

ON THE PROVINCES

OF

HUNAN, HUPEH, HONAN AND SHANSI.

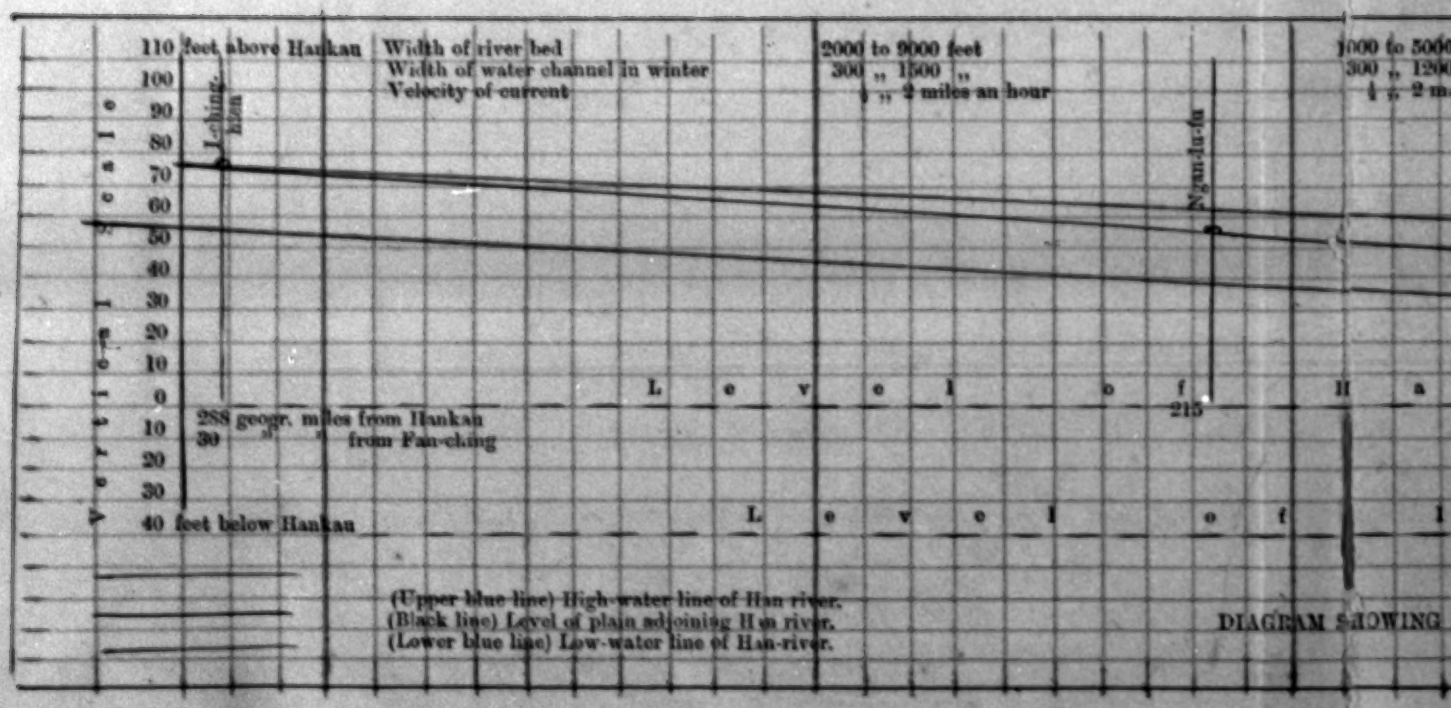
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LETTER

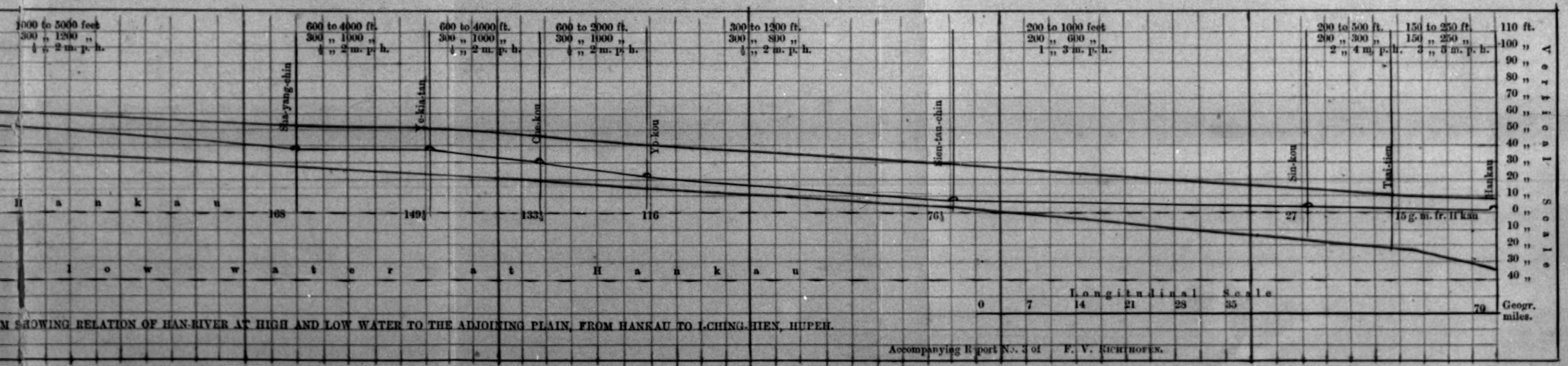
FROM

BARON RICHTHOFEN

ON THE



1870.



M SHOWING RELATION OF HAN-RIVER AT HIGH AND LOW WATER TO THE ADJOINING PLAIN, FROM HANKAU TO I-CHING-HIEN, HUPEH.

Accompanying Report No. 3 of F. V. RICHTHOFEN.

LETTER FROM BARON RICHTHOFEN ON THE PROVINCE OF HUNAN.

20TH TO 26TH FEBRUARY, 1870.

In accordance with my programme as communicated to you in my letter from Canton of Dec. 30th 1869, I have completed my journey through the province of Hunan.

I left Canton on Jany. 1st, went up the North river to Shau-chau-fu, and thence ascended its western branch, the Wu-shui, to I-chang-hien, which is just past the frontier of Hunan. By a two days' overland journey I reached Chin-chau, where I embarked on a small affluent of the Lui-ho. I then descended slowly the Lui-ho and Siang-kiang rivers to Siang-tan. It was my intention to proceed from Siang-tan by way of the Tung-Ting lake and the Tai-ping canal to Sha-si on the Yangtse, and thence by land to Siang-yang-fu in Hu-pe. I was disappointed by learning that there was no water as yet in the canal. This circumstance left me no other choice, than to go to Siang-yang either by way of Yo-chau and Sha-si, or by way of Hankow. I chose the latter route which will take less time to perform. It is a tedious journey through this level country, but unavoidable for reaching Honan and Shan-si, which are intended to be my next field of research.

I hope the complete change of the order in which I first intended to explore various provinces will have created no dissatisfaction. If this should however be the case, I trust that the amount of useful information which I hope I shall have collected, apart from geological observations, in the first four months of this year (the same time which it would have taken me on the previously contemplated southern route to reach Sze-chuen) will justify my present plan. As regards myself, I am extremely satisfied with the change, as it will give me an opportunity of seeing every province in a season well adapted for it. On the southern route, I would now be in the western portion of Kwang-se, with a good chance of being obliged to return to Canton.

My journey has been, on the whole, satisfactory and pleasant. People in Kwang-tung are civil to foreigners, and I have no reason to complain seriously of those of Hunan. It is true that travelling by land in this province requires more care and constant watchfulness than it does in those provinces I had previously visited. There is a good class of people largely represented in Hunan. The bad reception which foreigners have met is due, chiefly, to the existence of a class of rough characters which are met with everywhere in China, but probably in few provinces in equal number with Hunan. Though cowards when met singly, they wield power in exciting a crowd; and it is not difficult for them to succeed, as the inhabitants of Hunan are exceedingly superstitious (Fung-shui, for instance, which are little else but a farce in the north-eastern provinces, exert here their full sway.) Threats of beating and killing the foreign devils are frequently heard. There is a long interval between threats and acts with Chinese, if they fear resistance; but a traveller has to use unremitting care to keep down the excitement of the mob. I hardly have met in any province with a ruder set than the people in the coal-mining places of Hunan; foreign residents would have for a long time a dangerous position among them. On the other hand, the cleanliness, order, and industry of the people generally, and the great number of well educated and well behaved individuals cannot fail to impress a traveller favourably, and this circumstance makes up, in some measure, for any unpleasant experiences he may have previously made.

I am under obligations to the mandarins of this province, who have treated me invariably with civility and afforded me help where I needed it. This is the more to be appreciated as their power appears to be very limited in this province, and the people in many places seem to govern their mandarins. All the way down from Siang-tan, without the least solicitation on my part, I have been accompanied, for the sake of safety, by an Imperial gunboat. The reasons were, the supposed danger from robbers consequent on the poverty caused by the floods of last year in these lower regions, and the known animosity of the mob against foreigners. The rude treatment the officers of your expedition experienced at Yo-chau is still kept fresh in memory. It would probably be difficult to find in the Chinese army more amiable officers than those who were appointed at every gunboat station to accompany me. Far from restraining my steps, they even encouraged visits to the large cities, and procured me the great comfort of keeping my boat always clear of curious spectators.

In obedience to my instructions, I beg to lay now before you some preliminary notes regarding the country through which I passed.

THE NORTH-RIVER.—The Canton North-river (including its branch, the Wu-shui) does not show the province of Kwang-tung to advantage. It crosses in succession, three mountain ranges of from 2,000 to 3,500 feet elevation, which trend W.S.W., to E.N.E. The first is north of Tsing-yuen-hien, the third north of Lo-chang-hien. The river breaks through them in steep gorges with precipitous walls. They are separated by equally directed tracts of low hills and lime-stone cliffs, which enclose some fertile plains of small extent. Shau-chau-fu is situated between the second and third ranges. The existence of *coal-mines* in that region has been known for a long time. Little attention has been paid to them, on account of the inferior quality of coal brought for sale to Canton. But, as work appears to be confined to those places where the

coal-beds were found cropping out on the hill sides, and is more superficial than in most other coal-mining districts that have come under my observation in China, and in view of the absence of any known coal-field of value in the neighbourhood of Canton, I think that that of Shau-chau-fu is well worthy a detailed examination. There are several workable coal-beds, their position is but little disturbed, and the quality of some of the coal is by no means bad. It is not improbable that the establishment of deep mining would be a means of supplying Canton and Hongkong with a tolerably fair fuel at a cheap price.

The city of *Shau-chau-fu* is situated at the place of confluence of two rivers, one of which descends from the Meiling-pass and Nan-hiung-chau, and carries the traffic to and from Kiangsi, while the other (to Wu-shui) has its sources in Hunan, and forms part of the ancient highroad for the trade of Hunan and a great portion of western and central China with Canton. Yet, Shau-chau-fu is an unimportant place as regards commerce, and nothing but a convenient customs station.

With the *Tung-lo-ling*, the range north of Lo-chang, and still lying in the province of Kwang-tung, the last continuous mountain range is crossed between Canton and the Tung-ting lake. The headwaters of the Wu-shui, as well as those of some affluents of the Siang-kiang, are situated in a hilly region north of it. The pass between both, here known as *Chĕ-ling* (called the little or lesser Meiling in some European books,) has an altitude of probably less than one thousand feet above the level of the sea. The great highroad which crosses it in a length of thirty miles, is slightly undulating.

The fact that the prominent range of the Tung-lo-ling (a portion of the Nan-ling ranges) does not form the watershed between Kwang-tung and Hunan, but is intersected by a navigable river having its sources north of it, is an important circumstance in the history of Chinese commerce, as it gave origin to one of the chief routes of commerce in the Empire. Hopes have been entertained, that this same route would be practicable for a future railroad to connect Canton with the coal-fields of Hunan. But the prospects for such an enterprise are dim. The precipitous gorges in which the north river breaks through the three ranges are a formidable obstacle, and unless another and better route is found, which is far from probable, the prospective profits of an easy connection with Hunan must be enormous, in order to justify the great expense of laying a railroad track along the north river and the Wu-shui.*

The traffic over the Chĕ-ling pass, though said to be a fraction of what it was before the establishing of steamers on the Yang-tse, is still surprisingly large. There is a crowding of pack animals and coolies going either way.

It is a well-known fact, that about 120 miles west of the Chĕ-ling pass, Hunan is connected with Kwang-si by a continuous water communication kept up practically by means of gates. The existence of a low bridge is said to be the only obstacle preventing boats which stand high out of the water from passing from one province to the other; but small boats can proceed from the Tung-ting lake to Canton. Yet it seems, that that apparently convenient passage is not used to any notable extent, and not at all for the transportation of goods to Canton. The probable reason is, either local squeezes, or the dangers of navigation of the Kweilin river. The cost of the transportation alone, of goods from Hunan to Canton, must certainly be greater via the Chĕ-ling pass than via Kweilin.

Province of Hunan.—I passed no important place in Hunan until I reached Siang-tan; and as, in addition to my own observations, I attempted to gather general information in regard to the province, on my journey as well as in that great commercial emporium, I leave my itinerary with the Chĕ-ling pass and will try to condense more systematically some notes regarding Hunan, selecting such as may be of general interest.

You will receive, together with this letter, a map of the province of Hunan, which I drew from the Chinese original, reducing it to a convenient scale (1 inch=15 geographical miles,) and marking on it various items of information. I did not make any corrections on the Chinese original, though the route-maps which I am making as I go along would have given me an opportunity of doing so. If the Committee consider the map sufficiently interesting, I would respectfully request to have a copy of it taken, and to return me the original; as, together with such additions as I may be able to make hereafter, and with the maps I have made of other provinces, it may serve hereafter as a basis for publication. I think that a series of maps of the provinces of China, somewhat in the style of the one I send you, would be useful to the Chamber, because the information noted down on them in a conspicuous form may be from time to time enlarged by competent travellers.†

I begin with some geographical notes :—

Area of Hunan.—The area of the province of Hunan is, according to the Chinese map, 62,000 geographical, or nearly 84,000 statute square miles Lobscheid gives 70,000.

Rivers.—The basin of Hunan, the boundaries of which nearly coincide with those of the

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* I have read subsequently after my arrival at Hankow, the report of Dr. Dickson on his journey over the same route which I have taken (Journal North China Bra. Rl. As. Soc. 1864), and I see that he speaks in emphatic terms of the facilities of building a railroad from Canton to Hunan. The difficulty of the Tsing-yuen gorge which he mentions does not exist, as it can be easily evaded by taking a more direct route than the river. But the difficulty of crossing the Lo-chang range or Tung-lo-ling is certainly much underrated by Dr. Dickson.

† You will find the spelling of the names on the map generally in accordance with that used in Lobscheid's "Topography of China." I have, however, substituted *t'sh* for the English *ch*. Geographical names on maps should be spelled so as to be easily read by every one. *T'sh* can only be read in one way, while the pronunciation of *ch* is different in nearly every language. In my letters I adhere of course to the *ch*, to which English readers are accustomed. I make no apologies on behalf of the rude technical execution of the map. You are aware that a Chinese boat does not offer much convenience for that sort of work.

province, is drained by four rivers, which empty into Tung-ting lake. They are, from east to west:

1st.—*The Siang river*, navigable high up in its course by boats loading 450 piculs, while all its numerous and extensive ramifications are accessible, partly to the same craft, and partly to smaller boats for considerable distances. Through these affluents and by low mountain passes situated in the regions of their respective head-waters, it offers easy communication with Kiang-si to the east, Kwang-tung and Kwang-si to the south, and the basin of the Tsz' river to the west. The area of its basin is 28,800 geographical or 39,000 statute square miles.

2nd.—*The Tsz' river*, navigable only by the smallest kind of boats, which must be pulled up frightful rapids. The term "T'an-ho" (stream of rapids) is especially applied to it as a name. Its basin covers an area of 7,500 geographical, or about 10,000 statute square miles, and offers easy connections by land, with that of the Siang-kiang to the east and south, upon which it is mainly dependent for supplies and the sale of its own productions; while more difficult, because longer, land routes connect it with the basin of the Yuen-kiang to the west.

3rd.—*The Yuen river*, a large river with extensive ramifications, some of which have their headwaters in Kwei-chau. Its navigation is throughout difficult and dangerous. Rapids commence 120 li above Chang-te-fu, and continue all along the course of the river and its affluents. Boats leaving Chang-te-fu do not carry more than sixty piculs. At the mart of Hong-kia, little more than midway between Chang-te-fu and Yuen-chau-fu, and about 600 li distant from the former place, goods are put on smaller boats, drawing no more than sixteen inches, and loading thirty piculs. These ascend the main river to Wang-ping-chau, situated near its source in Kwei-chau. All the larger affluents are navigated, but most of them by boats loading only ten piculs. Freight is consequently expensive, a cargo of 60 piculs costing 40,000 cash from Chang-te-fu to Yuen-chau-fu, a distance of 1000 li, or more than Tls. 6 for a distance of less than 300 miles. The road overland is much shorter, but the expense of freight by it is double. On the Siang river, freight is about one seventh of what it costs on the Yuen river. The basin of the Yuen river has an area of 26,100 geographical or 34,300 statute square miles, of which 6,650 geographical (22,500 statute) are situated in Hunan (including a small corner of Sze-chuen,) and 9,450 geographical (12,500 statute) in Kwei-chau; this latter portion is partly inhabited by independent Miao-tse. From this basin there are inconvenient passages by land to the Tsz'kiang basin to the east, and the centre of Kwei-chau to the west, while to the northwest it is connected by the important, but inconvenient and expensive Yu-yang route with the province of Sze-chuen.

4th.—*The Ling-kiang*, navigable only in its lowest portion. Its area is 6,000 geographical or 8,000 statute square miles, and derives importance chiefly through the position on its head waters of the tea-district of Ho-fung-chau. But this belongs to the province of Hu-pe, and its produce is, as I see from your own report on the Upper Yang-tse, carried across the hills to I-tu-hien on the Yang-tse, not benefitting the trade of Hunan.

Relative position of chief places of commerce.

It will now be seen at a glance, what makes *Siang-tan* such an important centre of trade, notwithstanding its situation a good distance up one of the four rivers of the province. With reference to the Tung-ting lake and the Yang-tse, it offers only this slight advantage over Chang-te-fu, that in winter it can be reached from Yo-chau by somewhat larger vessels than Chang-te. But the chief advantage of its situation is, that it commands the basin of the Siang river, the easiest of approach, the largest, and by far the most important of the four basins of the province; besides, the passages to Kiang-si, and those to the neighbouring populous basin of the Tsz' river.

Siangtan is from these reasons one of the chief commercial places in China. The number of its inhabitants is said to be one million. The city extends about three miles along the left bank of the Siang-kiang, and is lined on the river side with a forest of masts. Its depth from the river is said to be five li. It consists almost altogether of suburbs, which are the seat of the trade; the city walls enclose the yamêns, but no great commerce is done within them. It is a much larger city than *Chang-sha-fu*, and more populous, though the provincial capital boasts of a larger space enclosed within its walls. Third in order among the cities of Hunan is *Chang-te-fu*. Although a considerable trading place, it is said to be far inferior to Siangtan, as regards size, population, and commercial importance. Besides some districts on the Ling-kiang, it commands the trade of the Yuen-kiang, which rivals the Siang-kiang, as regards extent of ramifications and area of basin; but the importance of this river is by no means proportionate to the size of its basin, and it commands no passages to any largely consuming or producing regions, excepting that to Szechuen. Regarding this, however, the route from Fu-chau (Szechuen) to Chang-te-fu (Hunan) is only a portion of the transit route of nearly all goods passing over it; most of them must reach Siang-tan before they can be distributed to their places of final destination. Besides these various causes of the superior importance of Siang-tan, the list of products which I subjoin will show that nearly all valuable articles of export of Hunan are derived from the eastern half of the province.

I may mention in connection with this subject, that I was told the chief business of Siangtan was that of banking. And if the position of Siangtan is considered as connecting the commercial intercourse between the larger portion of western and central China with the southern provinces, it is indeed evident that there is no place equally favourably situated for controlling financial matters also between distant portions of the empire. The business is here, too, chiefly in the hands of Shansi men, besides some from Shantung and Chili.

Formation of Surface.

Hunan is eminently a country of hills. It contains apparently some groups of mountains of a few thousand feet elevation, and trending in well defined directions, but it seems that they assume in no instance the form of continuous high mountain-ranges, in relation to the present general level of the country. The area of alluvial soil, too, is very limited. The only plain of any extent is around the Tung ting-lake, but even this extends little beyond the area covered by water in summer.

The surface of that portion of Hunan through which I travelled is composed from the southern boundary of the province to north of Hang-chau-fu, pre-eminently of soft red sand stone more recent in age than the coal-formation. It gives origin to exquisitely picturesque scenery, when cut up to the depth of a few hundred feet by a net of water-courses, which are so many narrow gorges bounded by vertical or overhanging walls. The contrast of a luxuriant vegetation with the brick-red colour of the rocks contributes to create an endless variety of beautiful sights. These regions are, however as a rule, thinly inhabited and little productive. The same formation constitutes, around Lai-yang and Hang-chau-fu, a low, rolling country, with patches of alluvial soil between numberless slight elevations. These attain, in places, an extent of a few square-miles, and are fertile, yielding rice and various kinds of grain, besides hemp and Tobacco. The summits of mountain-ranges, that existed at the time of the deposition of these red sand stones, protrude from between the hills composed the more modern rocks. Besides some older rocks, the mountain-ranges are chiefly composed of the coal formations which besides constitute extensive hilly regions. These hills are well wooded, and covered with large plantations of the tea-oil shrub and tea. They leave little room for agriculture, but the fertile soil yielded by the rocks of the coalmeasures renders the narrow bottoms of the valleys especially adapted for the cultivation of rice.

It appears, that the character of surface-formation which I have here described prevails over the greater portion of southern and western Hunan, though more ancient formations take probably the place of the coal-measures more and more as one approaches the south western corner of the province,

North of Hang-chau-fu, the country continues hilly, but detached groups of higher mountains are more frequent than south of that city. Among them is the celebrated *Hang-shan*, one of the five sacred mountains of China, and known as the place of the original tablet of Yu. Its elevation is about 3,000 feet. It appears to form part of an ancient mountain-range, stretching from west-south-west to east-north- ast, whose summits only are visible at present, but which was formerly of some importance, as it formed the northern rim of the basin in which the coal-measures before described and the overlying red sand stones were deposited. A series of coal-bearing strata, differing in age and character from those first mentioned, take part in its structure, and by their hardness give origin to dangerous cliffs and rapids in the Siang-river. The same formations of which these mountains are composed, continue to prevail from here all the way to the Yangtse. Granite is one of them, but occurs only in a few places. It is hewn, at *Kin-tse-soan*, below Chang-sha, into slabs and rice-mortars which are largely exported to the lower countries. Sand stones and conglomerates are the predominating rocks. They form barren hills; while softer sand stone bears Tea-plantations, and strata of argillite have afforded means by the decomposition of the rock, for the establishment of large potteries, those of *Tung-kwan-yan*, 19 miles below Chang-sha-fu, being the most celebrated. A great number of glazed tiles, of all colours, and of the most phantastic patterns, for adorning temples and private buildings, are made here.

The soil between these hills is, as a rule, sandy, and not fertile. Lime, for the purpose of manuring it, is burnt in great quantity at various places along the river. The occurrence of limestone is quite subordinate, though its out-croppings along the river are numerous.

The only portions of Hunan which are probably more mountainous than those here described are the far northwest and southwest.

Products of Hunan.

Hunan exports chiefly raw produce. Manufactures of any kind are in a low stage, and the province has to import nearly all the manufactured goods it requires. But, as the country is hilly, and the Chinese make little use of sloping ground, excepting where they can either terrace it and cultivate rice, or where they plant the tea-shrub or tea-oil shrub, the quantity of raw vegetable produce exported is comparatively small, and that of animal production is nil.

It is noteworthy that, notwithstanding an exceedingly favourable climate. Hunan produces no *silk*, very little *sugar* and no *opium*, excepting a very small quantity grown near the frontier of Kwei-chau. It lacks therefore some of the chief sources of wealth which neighbouring provinces, though to all appearance no more advantageously situated, possess. It is difficult to understand the causes of this deficiency. It may be that the climate is unfavourable for the cultivation of the poppy, and the level ground may be too limited in extent to admit of planting much beyond what is needed for the daily food of the people. Chinese like to be safe in regard to this and will generally prefer to supply first their rice and other grain, before they seek to plant those crops which are not for their direct use, but by the sale of which they may acquire the funds for purchasing their food.

Tea has to make up for these deficiencies. It ranks first in value among the articles of export. That which is sent to Hankow is made east and west of Siangtan, in *Li-lin-hien*, *Liu-yang-hien*, and *Ping kiang-hien* to the east, *Siang-hiang-hien*, *Sin-hwa-hien*, and *Nyan-*

hwa-hien to the west. Ping-kiang produces most, and Ngan-hwa the best quality of Tea. The prepared leaf is brought in cotton bags containing from 70 to 100 catties to Siangtan, where it is classified, put in boxes and made up into chops by the large dealers. Another tea-district is *Ki-yang-hien* in Hang-chau-fu. The tea from this place is exported both to Hankow and Canton, while that grown in a third district, the region adjoining the province of Kwang-tung goes all to Canton. Western Hunan produces no tea.

Hemp is among the chief articles of export of Hunan. The market for it is Fu-shan-hien near Canton. It is even carried as far as Fo-kien. The price of Tsing-ma is Tls. 5 to 6, that of Pe-ma Tls. 6 to 7 per picul. The best (Lao-pe-ma) is grown in the district of Ping-kiang, and is said to be sold as high as Tls. 10 per picul.

Cotton.—An amount not sufficient for home consumption is grown in Hunan. Hu-pe supplies largely above the quantity required to make up the balance. In consequence, a good deal of cotton grown near Chang-te-fu is exported to Sze-chuen, and some Hu-pe cotton is re-exported to the same province. The price has varied from Tls. 15 to Tls. 30, and is now Tls. 16 to 19.

Rice is grown throughout the province in sufficient quantity for home consumption, and a great deal is exported to Hankau and the lower Yang-tse from the regions adjoining the Tung-ting lake. It is, besides medicine, the only article of export from the upper portion of the Yuen-kiang-basin, though only in good years. Its present price on the Tungting-lake is a little over 2, 00 cash per picul, which is about double the usual standard, and more is exported this year. Its present price at Siangtan is 2,700 cash per picul.

Paper is the only manufactured article exported from Hunan. Most of it goes by way of the Han-river (Fan-ching) to Honan and Shansi. Only the inferior kinds of yellow joss-paper, made of bamboo and rice-straw, are produced in Hunan. The profits to the province at large are probably small, as all writing paper is imported, chiefly from Fokien.

Tobacco is grown in Hunan, but it is of inferior flavour. It sells at Tls. 1.2.5 to Tls. 10 per picul and is exported both to Kwangtung and Hankau. Better qualities are imported, chiefly from Fokien; the best from that province sells as high as 40 cash per catty.

Tea-oil is one of the staples of Hunan, and is manufactured in great quantity throughout the province, chiefly in the south. Its price at Siangtan is Tls. 7.5.0 per picul. Most of it is exported to Canton. Groundnut-oil (Hwasin-yu), though likewise produced in large quantity, is not an article of export. Tung-oil is imported from Sze-chuen, though a small quantity of it is made in south-eastern Hunan.

Coal: this is the most important of the mineral products of Hunan. The whole of south-eastern Hunan may not unjustly be called one great coal-field, although the coal-formation is far from forming the surface-rocks uninterruptedly. It is, without exception, the greatest coal-field that has hitherto come under my observation in China. It extends, according to the information I gathered in addition to my own observations, from the northern slope of the Nan-ling to near Siang-tan, that is, through upwards of two degrees of latitude and about the same of longitude. The total area comprises about 1 ,2 0 geographical or 21,700 statute square miles. But, unfortunately, a great portion of this area, probably more than one half of it, is covered by those sediments of many thousand feet in thickness mentioned before as being more recent in age than the coal formation, while a small proportion of it only is occupied by the more ancient rocks. Yet, the coal measures themselves are visible in extensive regions. The stratification is ordinarily much disturbed, a fact which has in many localities influenced disadvantageously the position and quality of the coal-beds.

From a geological as well as from a practical point of view the coal-field must be divided into two nearly equal portions, which may be called the Lui-river coal-field and the Siang-river coal-field. The former yields anthracite, the latter bituminous coal. The coal-measures are different in character and in age in the two regions.

1st—*The Lui river coal-field.*—The southernmost mines of this coal-field are already met with on the headwaters of the Canton north river, near *I-chang-hien* and *Lin-wu-hien*. Next to the north follows a broad belt of mining districts, marked by the following places: *Chin-chau*, *Kwei-yang-chau*, *Kwei-yang-hien*, *Kwei-tung-hien* and *Hing ning-hien*. A great deal of coal is mined here for local use, but scarcely any of it is exported, partly because some of those remote regions are not accessible by water, and partly because the coal is of an inferior quality. If once seen it can be immediately recognized, as it is alike in all these southern places, and unlike any other coal coming from the west of Hunan. Though all anthracite, it is exceedingly soft and friable; large pieces crumble into mere dust by a slight blow with the hammer. If left to itself, it parts into small shelly pieces, caused by the existence of rounded planes of attrition, which exhibit a remarkably bright lustre, resembling that of plumbago. These unfavourable properties of the coal are undoubtedly due to the crushing action to which it was exposed during the slow process of the folding of the strata in which it is enclosed. The disturbances are so great that there is little prospect of ever finding here a good kind of coal.

The most important region is situated on both sides of the Lui-river (Lui-ho), between *Yung-hing-hien* and a few miles north of *Lui-yang-hien*. The coal-formation rests here on the flanks of a north and south range made up of more ancient formations, its strata dipping, with great regularity, about 45 degrees off from that range, on either side of it. The coal-beds are intercalated, in groups, and at various levels, between a series of sand stones and argillites which have an aggregate thickness of at least five thousand feet. The inclined position of the strata is favourable for disclosing the various coal-beds to view, and makes mining tolerably easy. The situation is no less advantageous; many mines are worked close to the river-side and at little distances from it. All the coal in this district is anthracite. In those mines situated

farthest up the river, near Yung-hing-hien, it still resembles in character that described from the Chin-chau and other districts. Proceeding north, the coal gradually improves in quality. At the chief selling places: Lui-pa-kou, Tan-chau, Whang-i-kang, Tsing-sui-pu and Sz-mi-chau situated respectively 7, 12, 15, 17,28, geogr. miles, by water, below Yung-hing; distance from Yung-hing to Lui-yang 38 geogr. m. by water, 25 m. direct, some good anthracite may be seen. But the best is raised from some new mines a few miles east and north-east of Lui-yang, just before the whole formation disappears under the overlying red sand stone. This last portion of the coal-field would well repay the trouble of a detailed examination, which I was prevented from making at the time by misrepresentations connected with the then approaching Chinese New year. The character of the coal formation is the same as farther south; the coal is better, yet the mines are smaller, probably because the difficulties in the way of Chinese mining are greater.

The "Coal of Lui-yang," by which name the anthracite of the entire region described is known in the lower country, is mostly of great purity, black colour, and concoidal fracture. But it lacks solidity, and the proportion of lump coal to small is no more than one-fifth to one-tenth at most mines. The superiority of the northernmost mines of the district is chiefly due to the circumstance that most of the coal is raised from the mines in fine solid lumps. I think it will compare favourably with the best kinds of anthracite known.

The original price of Lui-yang Coal is from 80 to 100 cash per pecul (Tl. 0.8 to Tl. 1 per ton) for small, and 140 to 160 cash (Tls, 1 4 to Tls. 1.6 per ton) for lump, put on board boat. The distance from Yung-hing to Siang-tan, by water, is 196 miles (1000 Hunan-li) and from here to Hankau 237 miles. Freight is remarkably cheap. It is for a cargo of upwards of 400 peculs, from the mines to Siang-tan, 30,000 cash, and from there to Hankau 36,000 making a total of 66,000 cash for say 400 piculs, or 165 cash per picul, or Tls 1.6.5 per ton of 16 piculs, for a distance of 433 geographical miles. Taking the original price of lumps 150 cash per picul, the best Luiyang-anthracite can therefore be laid down at Hankau for a at trifle over Tls. 3.1.5. No transit dues have to be paid, excepting 16 cash per picul near Yo-chau. It is, of course, desirable that this price should be reduced to its lowest possible figure, and coal be procured of the best possible quality. Any prospect of a reduction of freight is entirely out of the question. No steamer and no railroad would carry coal for so low an amount as the boatmen of Hunan do, and in China there are few instances of so low a rate of freight. It is at the mines that an improvement must be looked for. They are at present imperfectly worked. The abundance of coal croppings and the ease of following a coal-bed down by an inclined shaft cause a great many mines to be opened in succession, and little trouble to be taken to continue work to great depth. Nowhere did I find it so difficult to ascertain the depth of the mines, one or two li being the figure usually given. I descended in some shafts, but no more than 60 or 80 feet, as it proved to be very unsafe to go to the bottom. It appears that few mines, are worked to a greater depth than 180 to 200 feet on the incline. It may be confidently expected, that deep mining would secure an improvement of the coal in that direction where it is most needed, namely as regards increase of solidity. The country is admirably adapted for draining the mines by tunnels to the depth of several hundred feet. The construction of such adits in the soft rock of the country, and with cheap labour, would be inexpensive. The chief conditions required for extensive and cheap mining aretherefore present, and the time will probably come when the best anthracite will be sold at Lui-yang for a cheaper price than is paid at present for the lowest kind of dust coal which is mixed with clay to render it fit for use. I forgot to mention the thickness of the coal-beds, which is moderate, varying from 3 to 6 feet. But this want is made up by the number of coal-beds that can be worked in most places by one single set of mining works.

The amount of Lui-yang extracted Coal is already large. It is used in all the places down the Siang river. Most of it is carried to Hankau, where some, considered a trifling amount by the Siangtan Coal dealers, is sold to the foreign steamers. Some is carried as far as Kiukiang and Nanking. Great complaint is made of the heavy dues to which it is subjected at Kiukiang, Wuhu, and Nanking (100 cash per basket of 140 catties at each place). To get at an estimate of the present amount of Lui-yang Coal extracted, I counted approximately the number of cargo-boats I met on the Lui-ho, from Yung-hing to the place of its confluence with the Siang-kiang, a distance of 96 miles. I counted upwards of two thousand boats averaging in capacity 200 piculs of coal (the basket of coal, weighing from 140 to 160 catties, appears to be the standard measure of these cargo-boats). Going up the river, they carry merchandize for the upper country, and the bulky medicines destined for Kwangtung. Returning, they take, first, the imports from Kwangtung, which are not only less in value than the exports, but mostly very weighty, and require only a small proportion of the available boats. About two-thirds of them take therefore on their return trip a cargo of coal. Considering 20 days as the time required for the 2,000 boats to be replaced by an equal number of others, then at least 600,000 piculs of coaling capacity will represent the total of vessels entering and leaving the Lui-ho at its mouth every month, and 200,000 piculs will be at least the amount of coal leaving the river every month, or about 150,000 tons a year. This figure is, however, probably too low. From the few details which I have mentioned a great future may be confidently predicted for the Lui-river Coal field, provided a market can be found for its abundance of excellent anthracite. The establishment of deep mining, the abolition of transit and other dues on coal, and the provision for cheap freight on the Yangtse, may co-operate to allow the coal to find its way to Shanghai as a permanent article of import. No other mines of good anthracite are known that are connected with Shanghai by a continuous water communication, and it is therefore not probable that the better kinds of Lui-yang Anthracite would meet with a dangerous competition from any other anthracite.

2nd.—*The Siang river coal-field.*—The lower course of the Lui river is enclosed between

rolling hills of red sand-stone. A few miles north of its confluence with the Siang river, the coal-measures re-appear. But they are quite different in character from the formation in the Lui-yang coal-field, and probably precede them in age. They bear altogether *bituminous coal*. *Cha-lin-chau*, *Li-lin-hien*, *Siang-hiang-hien*, (all of *Chang-sha-fu*,) *Pau-king-fu* and *Ki-yang-hien* in Hang-chau-fu are the best known districts. I saw abandoned coal-mines at several places along the Siang river, but did not visit those other localities. The existence of coal-mines in Ki-yang-hien came to my knowledge a long time after I had passed Hang-chau-fu; besides the journey from there to the mines and back would have required a fortnight's time, which would probably have been ill spent. Li-lin-hien and Cha-ling-chau are of no importance, as they yield only a small quantity of an inferior dust coal. I intended visiting Siang-hiang, but as this trip must be made in winter in very small boats, and the season commenced to be exceedingly rough and cold, I gave it up; moreover the inferior quality of the Siang-hiang coal which I saw at Siangtan was not in the least encouraging for a visit under unfavourable circumstances. Very little lump is produced, nearly all dust. Most of it is made into an inferior kind of coke, which supplies some iron foundries on the Yangtse. Ki-yang-hien furnishes a slightly better coal, a very small proportion of which is in lumps. That which is mined in Pau-king-fu is very impure, full of sulphuret of iron and clayey matter. It is, besides, nearly out of reach, as the Tsz' river is said to be all but unfit for navigation.

I collected samples of coal from all these localities. They justify the very low opinion which the coal-merchants of Siangtan have of all Hunan coal other than that coming from the Lui-river. Only the circumstance, that bituminous coal is applicable to purposes for which anthracite cannot be used, secures a market for some of it. It is, for instance, largely used on the Siangkiang for burning lime, and supplies the blacksmiths far down on the Yangtse. Judging from the character of the enclosing strata at those mines which I visited, the Siang-river coal-measures belong to the same formation in which a coal-bed of inferior quality is mined a few miles off the right bank of the Yang-tse, near a place called Whang-shi-kang, 60 miles below Hankau.

3rd. Other Coal-fields. The only other coal-field in Hunan of which I got information comprises portions of *Shin-chau-fu* and *Yuen-chau-fu*, in the western half of the province. The mines are said to be worked on a small scale, and to furnish only small coal. That from Yuen-chau-fu is used only on the Yuen-river, while a small quantity of Shin chau-fu coal is exported. I failed to get a sample of it. I did not mark these coal-fields on the map, because their exact situation is not known to me.

It is a matter of course, that none but the best coal from so remote a province as Hunan can find a market deserving the attention of foreigners, until the time when foreign enterprise in the interior of China shall be far advanced, and a large local consumption of coal be secured for industrial purposes. The better kinds of the Lui-yang anthracite answer this condition. But to judge from the imperfect knowledge I gathered, the same cannot be said of the bituminous coal of Hunan. All that I have seen (perhaps with the exception of some from Ki-yang) is inferior in quality to that of Lo-pin-hien on the Poyang lake, and incomparably worse situated. The original price and the cost of transportation of the bituminous coal from various places in Hunan are, on an average, a little less than of anthracite, but the difference is not so great as to make up for their inferior qualities. An amelioration may be expected by the establishment of deeper mining; but where the Chinese do not extract any better coal than that which they bring now to market to Siang-tan it would be vain to speculate on so great an improvement as would be required for bituminous coal to compete with that coming from other places, at so distant a market as Shanghai.

If steam navigation on the Yang-tsze should be soon extended as far as I-chang, then the bituminous coal of Hunan will, of course, furnish a convenient and cheap fuel to those steamers whose boilers are not adapted for the use of anthracite. But this would be too limited a market to influence the working of the coal mines to any great extent.

Iron.—It appears that iron ore is of sparse distribution in Hunan, considering that the coal formation with which it is usually associated covers so large an area. Though argillaceous iron ore occurs more or less at nearly every coal mine, it is mostly not abundant enough to form an object of mining. One region only has come under my observation where there are superior and abundant deposits of iron ore. It is the country around *Chin-chau*. Great thicknesses of the strata of the coal formation are there impregnated with iron and manganese, and some fine deposits of excellent limonite (brown iron ore, here probably manganiferous) are exposed. The place offers a great opening for mining. Though situated near the southern boundary of the province, Chin-chau is adjacent to a navigable affluent of the Lu-ho, and the ore can be carried down stream at the same low rate of freight as the coal. The Chinese smelt the ore at a place between Yung-hing-hien and Lui-yang-hien, and make from it a tolerably good wrought iron which is sold, according to quality, at 2,000 and 2,400 cash per picul. This is the only instance where I have seen Chinese smelt other than magnetic iron ore.

Another deposit of iron ore mined by the Chinese is reported to be in *Pau-king-fu*, probably too, in connection with the coal-formation. This ore is exported to places on the Yangtse, where it is smelted with coke from Siang-hiang. It is to be expected that a more detailed exploration of the coal districts of Hunan will disclose the existence of other deposits of iron ore. But it is questionable whether the commercial value of the iron made from it will extend far beyond the supply of the local consumption, as there are other deposits of iron ore known in the vicinity of some of the Seaports.

Other Metals.—There is only one place in the whole province of Hunan reputed for its wealth in metals generally. It is Pe-shan-sze in Sing-ning-hien, Pau-king-fu. Besides *copper*, which takes the first place, *silver*, *quicksilver*, *tin*, *lead*, *iron*, and *gold* are said to be produced

there. The place is well known to all Hunan men. Copper and tin from Pe-sha-sze are sold and used for manufacturing purposes at Siangtan; gold is only washed in the sand of a river. I could not learn of any other place producing any of those metals, excepting iron. Quicksilver is reported to be produced in one or two other localities, but information in regard to this metal must be received with caution.

Articles of Import.

Salt, though of no commercial interest, on account of its being a government monopoly, must be mentioned as probably the most weighty article which is imported into Hunan for consumption. The northern portion of the province receives its supplies from Hankau, the south-eastern departments from Canton. During the Taiping rebellion it was imported into Siangtan both from Szechuen and Canton. The sale of salt offers some noteworthy features, inasmuch as no article of commerce increases so rapidly in price with the growing distance from the centres of supply as is the case with salt. The arbitrary price put upon it by the government amounts in fact to the same as if this commodity were encumbered by transit dues and squeezes tenfold as heavy as those which are levied on articles of luxury. The price of salt at Canton is $ 1 pr pecul. With the addition of freight alone it could be delivered at Siangtan for less than $ 2. But going up the North river, its price increases with every customs' station that is passed. After having gone through six of these in a distance of 650 li, it is sold at Lo-chang-hien, the last city in Kwangtung, at Tls. 2 per picul; 150 li farther on it reaches I-chang-hien, the first city in Hunan, and, after a transportation of ninety li by land, the City of Chinchau, where the price is 5,000 cash per picul. At Yung-h'ng-hien, 37 miles down the Lui-river, it is sold at 6,500 cash. If the price increased steadly at this rate, it would reach at Siangtan a figure above the actual selling price at that place, which is 7,0 0 cash per picul. Salt must be imported into Siangtan via Hankau in order to enable the Government to sell it at this comparatively cheap price.

Foreign goods are almost altogether imported from Hankow, a small quantity taking still as of old the longer route from Canton to Siangtan. This place appears to provide nearly the whole province. If transit dues and local squeezes were abolished, there is no doubt that southern Hunan would be supplied with foreign goods from Canton. Transit passes are a complete protection on the journey from Hankow to Siangtan, but none at all, as I was told, on the route from Canton to Hunan.

Opium is chiefly imported from Hankau. That from Szechuen is not liked and little used, while Kweichau opium is preferred, and said to figure a little more largely in the trade. I saw less of opium smoking in Hunan than I did in the northern provinces. I was told that all retainers of mandarins who were in the habit of smoking opium have been dismissed throughout the province. None is said to be used by the Imperial soldiers.

Silk is a considerable article of importation. It is supplied both from Szechuen and Su-chau.

Sugar.—The main supply is from Canton, chiefly white and brown. A small proportion is imported from Szechuen and Fokien.

I have already mentioned the importation of the finer kinds of *Tobacco* and *Paper* from Fokien, and of *Cotton* from Hu-pe. *Tung-oil* and *White Wax* both from Szechuen are also to be mentioned, and no inconsiderable item appears to be the importation of "Kwang ho" or Canton-goods, comprising all kinds of manufactured and fancy articles and including even foreign goods. Fans, candies, fruit, marriage presents, embroidery, carving etc., figure under this head.

Roads of Commerce.

A review of the trade of Hunan shows, that it takes chiefly six directions: 1st, *to Hankow and the lower Yangtse*. Exports: tea, coal, rice, hemp, tobacco, &c. Imports: foreign goods, salt, cotton, silk, opium. Freight to Hankow is from 80 to 90 cash per picul. There is a great deal of direct trade to Kiukiang, Wuhu, Nanking, Shanghai and chiefly Chinkiang.

2nd.—*To Fan-ching on the Han river*, a centre of the commerce with northern Hu-pe, Honan, Shansi and Shensi. I did not collect particulars regarding the trade by that route. A great deal of paper is exported by it.

3rd.—*To Fokien*. Export: hemp. Imports: tobacco, sugar, writing-paper. The route is direct, via Kiangsi, by navigable affluents of the Siang, Kia and Min rivers.

4th.—*To Canton*. Exports: tea, hemp, tea-oil, paper. Imports: salt for the southern departments, sugar, and a variety of manufactured goods. The road is up the Siang and Lui-rivers, to a small place Whang-yan-ping, 215 miles from Siangtan, thence up a small affluent of the Lui-ho (18m.) to Chin-chau. Boats are changed at Whang-yan-ping, those going to Chin-chau loading only 30 or 40 piculs. After having crossed the Chê-ing-pass, very small boats are taken from I-chang-hien to Ping-shi (descending a small affluent of the Wu-shui-river) larger ones from there to Lo-chang-hien, and good size cargo-boats, loading at least 300 piculs, from there to Canton. The entire distance on this route from Siangtan to Canton is, according to my route surveys, 549 geographical miles.

The cost of freight per picul is as follows: from Siangtan to Chin-chau, 233m. (1,200 Hunan li), 90 cash; from Chin-chau to I-chang-hien 30m. by land, the standard rate is 600 cash per picul; the price varies according to the ratio of the quantity of goods ready for transport to the available number of coolies. From I-chang to Canton, finally, a distance of 286 miles, freight is about 120 cash per picul. The total amount, from Siangtan to Canton, is

therefore about 870 cash per picul, or Tls. 8.1.0 per ton. I have already mentioned, in connection with the salt trade, the great number of customs stations passed on this route ; some twenty, more or less.

5th —*To Kwei-ling-fu and Kwang-si.* I am not informed about this trade, which is small.

6th.—*To Szechuen.* The two roads to Sze-chuen, the first going either by way of the Tai-ping canal and the Yangtse (summer route,) or by way of Yo-chau and the Yangtse (winter route;) the second, by way of Chang-te-fu, Shinchau-fu, Yu-yang chau and Fu-chau, are said to be in use in about equal proportion. Exports : none of the produce of Hunan, excepting some Chang-te-fu cotton. Imports : silk, sugar, tung oil, white wax, opium. I have marked on the map a road leading entirely by land, through Tsz'-li-hien, Yung-ting-hien, Lung-shan-hien, Laifung-hien, Kien-kiang-hien to Pang-shui-hien, whence boats are taken, down the Kien-kiang to Fu-chau in Szechuen. It is taken by travellers, and those merchants who carry valuable goods in a small compass.

Another ancient and interesting trade road must be mentioned, which has, however, fallen into disuse of late years. It is that *to Kwei-chau and Yünnan.* It went up the Yuen-river to Yuen-chau-fu and Wang-ping-tshau, which is the head of navigation, thence across several mountain passes to Kwei-yang-chau, and on to Yünnan. Copper, quicksilver, tin and lead from Yünnan and Kwei-chau were carried by that road through Hunan to the lower Yangtse and Canton, while silk and "Canton goods" (including foreign manufactures) were taken back in return. I learned also of an embassy, consisting of upwards of one hundred men, from the country of the "Mang tse," reported to be situated 2,000 li "beyond Yünnan," which went twenty years ago, with tribute to Peking, and took this road in coming and returning. The trade with Kwei-chau came to a stand still seven or eight years ago when the Miau-tse took possession of some Fu and Hien cities in the region of the upper Yuen-kiang, which they still occupy. Since then, the trade of Kwei-chau and Yünnan is diverted to Szechuen.

Trade in medicine.—I have omitted to mention the chief article of the trade of Siangtan, in the first place, because it is in the main a transit trade, and because I would have had to mention it on every trade route both with the exports and imports. It is *Medicine.* I was told by the merchants of Siang-tan, that this city is the centre of trade in medicines for nearly the whole Empire. The drugs are imported from all quarters, and redistributed on the various commercial routes. The largest contributor, surpassing all others very far, is Sze-chuen. Kwei-chau, Yun-nan, Kwang-si, Kwang-tung, Hunan are next in order, and large shipments arrive from the northern provinces. When I met on the Che-ling-pass train after train of coolies and pack animals carrying big boxes carefully rendered water proof, and I enquired what they contained, the answer was almost invariably, *Yau-tsai (medicine herbs)* from Sze-chuen. Large boats going south from Siang-tan were loaded with nothing but these drugs. It may have been just the season for that trade, but undoubtedly the latter is of vast dimensions. And yet I heard at Siang-tan, that the export of medicine to Hupe, Honan, Shansi, Shensi, Chihli, and Shantung is much larger in quaintity than that going south.

The question naturally arises : what articles the Szechuen merchants purchase in return for their large imports? I learned that they buy at Siangtan a portion of the imported cotton and foreign goods. This circumstance will partly account for the great exports of foreign goods from Hankau to Siangtan, as compared with the amount of direct sales to Chungking. But making all due allowance for re-exports, there still remains a large quantity of foreign manufactures for consumption in Hunan. One of the causes of the demand for them is the considerable amount of money earned by the Hunan people ; another may be found in the fact, that they were earlier acquainted with foreign goods than the inhabitants of most other provinces. The term "Canton goods," in which they are still included, though imported at present from Hankau, points to the customary receipts from there in former times. A third cause is, the scarcity of native grown cotton. Where people cannot supply their wants from the produce grown on their own fields, imported fabrics must find a more ready market, even among the agricultural population, than in those regions which are more favored.

Prosperous condition of the inhabitants.—People in eastern Hunan are, on an average, better dressed than the inhabitants of any other province I have visited. This is owing, in a great measure, to their cleanlier habits, and the desire evidently prevailing, to dress well and neatly, but no less to their general welfare. A considerable amount of money flows into the country, in return for Tea, Tea-oil, Hemp, and Coal. The large sums paid to the boatmen of Hunan, by the consumers of medicine and other transit goods in the other provinces, are another source of wealth, which is perhaps not secondary to the former as regards its influence upon the general well being, as it offers this advantage. that the money earned for freight is rapidly put in circulation.

I do not know, whether the number of so called "rich men" is greater in Hunan than it is in the north-eastern provinces, but it is certainly more conspicuous : This is the first province in which I have seen a considerable number of fine country seats owned by "rich men" who have retired from business. They invest their money in real estate and let this to farmers for rent. In an isolated and conspicuous position, usually on the slope of a hill, and surrounded by a cluster of trees, stands the showy mansion of the owner. The existence of this kind of landed aristocracy may be the cause of the fact that Hunan furnishes a great number of mandarins in proportion to the number of its inhabitants. The young aspirants for office are instructed by private teachers, until they have passed the first examinations, when they enter the Yolo-college (one of the Hanlin Colleges), opposite Chang-sha-fu, to prepare for the examination in the provincial capital. It contains more than one thousand pupils, mostly of the age of from 22 to 25. They study privately in their cells, and have but one professor, a high mandarin. He is, however, not a teacher, but is merely consulted by the pupils when they

meet with difficulties in their studies. I visited the college. It is a large compound enclosed by a wall, and containing many fine buildings, which are kept clean and in excellent repair. On the Yolo-shan, a hill at the back of the college, has stood since time immemorial a copy of the Yu-tablet. I went up to it, but failed to get a complete copy of it, as it was getting dark when I reached it. I could not repeat my visit on the following day, as my first walk to the much dreaded and very independent crowd in the Yolo college, among which there are many who have a mandarin button, had alarmed the mandarins of Chang-sha-fu. When it became known several escorts of soldiers were sent out to protect me. I m t them one by one, when I was quietly walking back. I do not consider the visit to the college by foreigners a safe enterprise, although I took my leave quite pleasantly, the students having at the time evidently not got quite over their surprise both at my visit and my polite behaviour to them. But one minute more, and the gates would have been shut upon me. Some small incidents made it quite evident how this literate class fears and hates the foreigner.

Tung ting lake.

I conclude this letter, which, in the leisure hours afforded by a stormy and slow passage, has grown to greater length than I anticipated, with some notes on the natural outlet of the basin of Hunan.

There was no lake to be seen when I travelled from Siangtan to Yochau, the channel of the Siang river being now as well defined between banks here as it is higher up, with a width varying from 200 to 1000 yards. It is joined, about eight miles above Yo-chau, by the Yuen river, which likewise continues its course as a river throughout the whole basin of the lake. The Tsi river empties into the Siang below Siang-yin-hien. Both the Siang and the Yuen have their rapids and shallows within the area of the lake itself. Boats navigating the Siang in this lowest portion of its course should draw no more them two feet of water, though thirty inches is still risked, while those going up the Yuen draw only sixteen inches. The lake bottom consists of a fine micaceous sand, which forms quicksands in the bed of the Siang. Boats getting badly aground at this season are lost, because the sand accumulates rapidly around them. These alluvial deposits slope down gradually from south to north. The banks of the Siang, which are more than 35 feet above the present water level near Siang-yin, get lower and lower as one descends the stream, and are only five or six feet high, near Yo-chau.

The formation of the lake, in the summer season, is not caused by the swelling of the rivers of Hunan. If the sea extended to Yochau and was at a level with the present state of water in the Yangtse, then no lake would be formed. It is the rising of the Yangtse, "the water coming from the sacred lakes of Szechuen," as Hunan people say, which gives origin to the formation of the lake, and would fill its basin without any contribution from the rivers of Hunan. When at its highest, the lake extends up the Siang-river as high as Siangyin-hien. Still water continues usually beyond. At Chang-sha-fu it lasted for thirty days in 1869, and for sixty days some seven or eight years ago, but in ordinary years the river continues flowing throughout the whole summer. There is never still water at Siangtan.

As regards the Siang-river at the latter place, and beyond, I read in your report on the Upper Yangtse a statement of Dr. Dickson, that he found never less than ten feet for a distance of 300 miles above the lake, which would be equal to more than 100 miles beyond Hangchau-fu. Circumstances were very different when I descended the river in January and February. It has at this season numerous rapids and shallows, the most dangerous of which are a short distance above Siangtan. The larger Hunan coal-boats draw four feet of water when carrying a full cargo. There are places in the river, where they ground unavoidably and repeatedly on loose sand, and rely on the swiftness of the current to get off; while at other places, chiefly where there are cliffs, a narrow channel is staked off, just deep enough to let the boats pass without hindrance. It happens frequently, that there is less water in the river than at the time of my visit. The boats then either wait for a rise, or go on with only a portion of their cargo.

The Lui-ho offers less difficulties for navigation than the Siang-kiang.

Dr. Dickson travelled in May, when the water in the rivers of Hunan is generally high. During May and June it is highest, on the average. But I was told that it can never be relied upon. Heavy rains will swell the river at Siangtan within a few days from ten to twenty feet above its lowest level. It will remain high for days, sometimes for weeks, though subject to constant variations, and subside then nearly as quickly as it had risen before.

These circumstances render the Siangkiang, following its course from Yochau upwards, unfit for steam navigation beyond the extent of still water. In winter there is none of this, and the Siang river is then not accessible at all by steamers. When the lake is at its highest, steamers may proceed to Siang-yin, and in exceptional cases as high as Changsha, or even Siangtan. But it would be running a great risk, to make use of an occasional flood for ascending the Siang by steamer beyond Siangtan.

Siang-yin, or perhaps the mart at *Tsing-kang*, 19 miles higher up, and 72m. from Yochau, must therefore be considered as the limit of steam navigation in summer. It remains for detailed observations, to determine the length of the season during which those places will be accessible.

The Tungting-lake, although the difference of low and high water in it is considerably more than in the Poyang-lake, does not compare favourably with the latter as regards facilities for steam navigation, the limit of still and deep water on the Poyang-lake being 120 miles above its mouth, in the direction of Kin-te-chin and Loping, and the land-marks being there more distinct than they appear to be in Tung-ting-lake. It is probable that the latter will, at high water, be navigable for steamers in all directions. But in approaching the shallow

shores they will have to keep the river channels, and this will of course be more urgently required in those seasons when the water is rising or subsiding.

Foreign interests in Hunan.

It is evident that Hunan does not at present belong to the most productive provinces of China. It is inferior, in the variety and value of its products, to most of the coast provinces and to Szechuen. But the quantity of its products is capable of a greater increase than that of some other provinces which are more favoured by nature and have attained a higher industrial development. It appears that the cultivation of Tea on a large scale, in Hunan, is not of old date, but was stimulated by the foreign demand and it is likely that its growth can be considerably increased. This is to be expected generally in regard to all that portion of vegetable produce which can be raised on sloping ground, as none, or only imperfect, use is made of the greater portion of the hills in Hunan. Chief in prospective importance, however, are undoubtedly the coal-mines; it is probable that the anthracite coal-field of south-eastern Hunan covers an area similar in extent to that of Pennsylvania. I have shown that the best mines in it are those which are the lowest on the Lui-river; that they are situated close to navigation, that mining will be easy and cheap, and that a general improvement of the coal, at least to the standard of that which is now the best, can be confidently expected. These circumstances in themselves render the opening of Hunan to foreign enterprise an important question, more so now than ever before, as after the opening of the Suez canal the want of good fuel at moderate prices will be doubly felt in the Chinese ports.

It is hardly within my province to pronounce an opinion on purely commercial matters, and I have to beg you to grant indulgence for any error in judgment, if I dare to add a few words in regard to the opening of Siangtan to foreign commence. Important as this place is, I do not believe that it would be well adapted for the objects counected with foreign residence in the interior of China. In the first place, it is, as I have attempted to show, accessible by steamers only in exceptional and rare instances. Then, Siangtan owes its past and present commercial greatness to a concurrence of peculiar circumstances, the most important of which do not materially affect foreign interests, and will benefit those even of native merchants less and less as foreign enterprise in China progresses. It owes it, 1st to the central position of the province of Hunan; 2nd, to the fact that this province is easy of access from the north-west, north, and north-east, and that of the three passages counecting northern and southern China (Meiling, Che'ling, Kweiling) two are approached from the basin of Hunan; 3rd, to the situation of Siangtan, which commands these passages; 4th last and least, to the circumstance that it commands the eastern, which is the most productive, portion of Hunan.

Siangtan has been for a long time the great market of foreign goods and of imports from Canton generally, for Szechuen, Kwei-chau, Hu-pe, Honan, Shan-si, Shen-si, and even for Yünnan and Kansu. *To* here they came all by one single road, *from* here they were distributed in various directions, while the produce from those same provinces converged here as towards one common centre, to take thence jointly one road to Canton. This position of Siangtan is of too old standing and too firmly established to be at once materially injured by the ascendancy of foreign means of conveyance of goods, on the Yangtse. A great portion of the trade still takes its former ronte through Siangtan, and the instance of the re-export of foreign goods from Siangtan to Szechuen shows, that the merchants of some provinces still adhere with tenacity to that place which has provided them for so long a time with foreign manufactures, and allow it to maintain artificially a position which it has virtually lost through the ascendancy of Hankau as the most natural place to supply those same provinces with foreign imports.

It must be expected, that the influence of quicker, if not cheaper, means of conveyance will divert the transit trade of Siangtan more and more to other channels, and finally, when railroads shall connect Szechuen with the eastern provinces the necessity of a transit station such as Siangtan will cease for all outward bound trade, and will continne to exist only for a limited number of goods forming part of the inland traffic.

While, thus, those circumstances which chiefly contribute to render Siangtan an important commercial centre can offer no inducement to the foreign merchant, and are, moreover, bound in the course of time to diminish in importance; the object which he has chiefly in view, namely the introduction of foreign goods to an ever increasing number of customers, can, perhaps, be more perfectly attained by settling at the entrance to Tung-ting-lake. This position is the key not only to the Siang-basin, but to the whole of Hunan. It would be the natural terminus for the native boat-navigation, whose courses converge from all parts of Hunan, together with the rivers, towards the outlet of the lake; while during the season of high water, a connection by steamer could be established with various places on Tung-ting-lake. An increased exportation of anthracite, which is to be expected at some time or other, will at the same time, tend to stimulate a more extensive introduction of foreign goods to remoter portions of the province.

The valley of the Siang-kiang is well adapted for building railroads, and what we know in regard to the general configuration of the province renders it probable, that no serious obstacle will be met with in constructing a network of them within the province itself. It would be hazardous for the most keen-sighted man to undertake to foretell now, in what directions the trade-roads and the centres of trade will shift when foreign enterprise shall have advanced far enough in China to allow the introduction of this most important of all improvements. As soon as this subject is approached, the want of a thorough knowledge of this vast Empire, or even of a detailed exploration of the different provinces will be seriously felt.

Feo. F. v. Richthofen.

HANKOW, 3rd *March*, 1870.

P.S.—I arrived here on February 26th, and have delayed forwarding this letter, because I expected that I would have to make some additions.

The river, at Hankow, is lower than it has been known before, the difference between its present level and the highest which it attained last summer being forty nine feet, I repeat in connection with this subject, that the Siang river at the time of my journey was not at its lowest. The present exceptional scarcity of water in the Yangtse does therefore not affect the unfavourable results at which I have arrived regarding the possibility of steam-navigation on the Siang-river.

I enquired here particularly into the conditions of the coal trade. Large quantities of Hunan-coal are brought to Hankow, both of Luiyang authracite and of bituminous coal, known here as hard coal, and soft or smith coal. The latter comes from various places in the Siang-river coal-field, and is throughout of that inferior description which I have mentioned as characteristic of all bituminous coal of Hunan. It ignites well, burns freely, cakes little, and is tolerably pure. It is therefore used on steamers when it can be got at what is considered a cheap price, but it is, on the whole, a fuel of too inferior value to deserve much further attention, excepting when it can be used for local purposes. The Lui-yang authracite is greatly preferred by the engineers of foreign steamers at Hankow, though I must add that they do not fully appreciate the best kind of it, which excels in firmness and high specific gravity. It requires more air than they can supply, and does not make steam so readily as the second rate anthracite, which is of less density and very brittle. Those superior kinds are eminently adapted for sea-going steamers, with which it is not so much an object to get up steam at short notice.

It is stated to me by the agents of the river steamers, that they pay for anthracite from Tls. 6 to 8 per ton of 1,680 catties, (or 1,764 catties gross weight, as five per centum is allowed for the water contained in the coal,) and that the average price is Tls. 6. 5m.

According to the figures which I have given on another page, the actual expense per ton of best Lui-yang anthracite in lumps is as follows, on arrival at Hankau.

Price at mine	150	cash per pcl.
Freight from mine to Hankau	165	„ „
Duty at Yo-chau...	16	„ „
	331	„ „

or Tls. 3.6.5. per ton of 1,764 catties. There are coal-hongs both at Siang-tan and Hankau, which are licensed, and take probably an arbitrary profit. At the mines themselves, shippers of coal stated to me the selling price at Hankau to be 400 cash per picul. On my arrival at this place, I sent my interpreter to the coal-hongs to enquire into the price. From 430 to 460 cash per picul, or on an average Tls. 4.9.2 per can was asked from him. Recapitulating these figures, we have then:

1st.—Actual expense for best coal on arrival at Hankau Tls. 3 6 per ton.

2nd.—Price in Hankau, as stated by shippers up country Tls. 4.4 1 per ton.

3rd.—Price asked from my interpreter at coal-hongs in Hankau 4.9.2 per ton.

4th.—Price paid to Compradores by steamship companies at Hankau, for various kinds of anthracite mixed Tls. 6.5.0.

I mention these details, because they give a remarkable illustration of the liberal scale on which profits and squeezes are drawn by a series of middle-men, and because they show, how desirable it is for those who buy native produce, to have trustworthy agents in the interior, for purchasing and shipping. As this is not the first instance in which my enquiries made in the interior of the country have proved a considerable discrepancy between the figures at which coal *can be* procured and *is* procured by foreigners, the suspicion may not be unjustified that, if reliable figures could be obtained, similar incongruities might be discovered in regard to other products which are purchased on foreign account through the medium of a number of native agents.

I will leave Hankau in two or three days, and intend to proceed by way of Fan-ching to Honan-fu. Thence I will commence a detailed exploration of the very important coal and iron regions of Honan and Shansi, I shall therefore not reach Peking before the 20 h of May, perhaps later. It is my present intention to proceed, after some explorations in the vicinity of Peking, through Shensi and Kansuh to Sze-chuen. I will not return to Shanghai, in all probability, before the completion of my travels.

Although I will endeavour to write as often as an opportunity shall offer, and to mention all subjects of importance, I will probably not have the leisure to write hereafter so fully as I have done in this present letter.

FEO. F. v. RICHTHOFEN.

LETTER

FROM

BARON VON RICHTHOFEN

ON THE

PROVINCE OF HUPEH.

PRINTED AT THE "SHANGHAI EVENING COURIER" OFFICE.

1870.

ON THE HAN-RIVER, NEAR FAN-CHING, PROVINCE OF HUPE.

MARCH, 27th, 1870.

By a tolerably quick passage, of twelve days from Hankau, I arrived at a place within a day's journey from Fanching, but have been wind-bound here for three days by a heavy northerly gale. Allow me to make use of this opportunity to communicate to you a few rough notes on the Han-river. I could perhaps write more elaborately from Fanching, where I hope to collect much additional information, but will probably not find the time for it there.

The traveller who navigates Chinese rivers in summer has, in most instances, an advantage over him who travels on the same rivers in winter, at least as regards those results of personal observation which he is enabled to bring before the public. The one may be perfectly justified in writing with emphasis on the full and wide streams of water which he saw, and the facilities they offer for navigation, not excepting that by steamers. The other, though making due allowance for these results previously obtained, will yet be obliged to destroy sanguine expectations by reporting unfavourably. I experienced myself a striking illustration of the different aspects which Chinese waters may present, when I visited the Poyang lake in the seasons both of high and of low water; and another instance is afforded by the discrepancy of the statements made by Dr. Dickson and myself on the Siang-river in Hunan. With regard to the Han-river, I am again in the unfortunate position of having to describe it in the unfavourable light which it presents at low water. I must here however at once meet an objection which might be raised. It may be suspected, from the fact of the unusually low state of water in the Yangtse, that its tributaries too are lower this winter than they are usually. But this appears not to be the case as regards the Han. Besides the statements made by the people of the country, I have some circumstantial evidence. Opposite a place Li-kin-tien, near I-ching-hien, there are in the Han-river, amidst banks of sand, a few isolated flats of gravel, some of which protrude at present only from one inch to two feet above the water. The gravel next to the surface is at present washed for gold, and it undergoes this process every winter. It is therefore evident, that the difference in the level of water between this and other winters can only amount to inches, if to anything at all.

The Han-river offers this peculiarity, that it is very narrow at its mouth, and grows in width as the distance from its outlet increases. From about 200 feet at its outlet it soon attains the breadth of from 400 to 500 feet; near Shayang it reaches half a mile, then often as much as one, and even one mile and a half. Where the bed is narrow, it is filled by water only, excepting at the bends, where shoals occur on the convex sides; but where the bed is wide, it presents at this season the aspect of a broad, winding belt of sand-dunes, in which the stream meanders from side to side, often branching out into several channels.

In the place of giving a detailed description, I have put down in the following table a list of some curious figures which may help, with a few further explanations, to illustrate the nature of the Han-river and of its relation to the surrounding country. All the figures are, of course, to be taken as approximations only, being all estimated. I have not added any figures showing the depth of the water, because travelling in a boat which is moved against the current, partly by tracking and sculling, and partly by sailing, is not at all favourable for making soundings of any value.

1. Places on Han-river.	2. Distance from Hankau (in geo. miles.)*	3. Width of water chan. (in feet)†	4. Width of river-bed (in feet)†	5. Velocity of current (in miles an hour).†	6. Rise of water in summer (in feet)‡	7. Elevation of surro'ndg. country above low water (in feet).
Hankau	0	200	200	3 to 4	50	40
Tsai-tien	15	150 to 250	150 to 250	3 " 5	35	28
Sin-kou	27	200 " 300	200 " 500	2 " 4	30	3
Sien-tau-chin	76½	200 " 600	200 " 1000	1 " 3	26	1
Yo-kou	116	300 " 800	300 " 1200	½ " 2	24	4
Che-kou	133½	300 " 1000	600 " 2000	"	24	8
Ye-kia-tan	149½	300 " 1000	600 " 4000	"	24	14
Sha-yang-chin	168	300 " 1000	600 " 4000	"	22	10
Ngan-lu-fu	215	300 " 1200	1000 " 5000	"	20	15
I-ching-hien	288	300 " 1500	2000 " 9000	"	18	18

* The distances are given according to my running surveys, and refer to that route which must be taken at the present season. Above Shayang they are shorter in summer, when the sailing-course is frequently more straight than in winter.

† The figures opposite each separate name in these columns apply to that portion of the river intermediate between the respective place and the one next preceding.

‡ The figures marking the rise of the river are approximately those of 1869.

A few words will suffice to explain this table.

First, as regards the places mentioned, those below Yo-kou are situated close to the river side. Yo-kou is protected against the force of a very destructive current by a bulkhead thirty feet high and built of red sand-stone, which, however, is kept in repair only at a great expense to the inhabitants. All places higher up the river, with the exception of a few which are built on bluffs washed by the current, are situated off the banks of the Han, behind artificial embankments. The cities of Ngan-lu-fu and I-ching-hien, for instance, are five li distant from the river. A few huts built of reeds and mud, and put up for the winter only, mark, together with some Mandarin-boats, the site of those places. This fact is characteristic of the Han, and distinguishes it from the Yangtse and Siang rivers, the small and large places on both of which are built close to the water's edge.

The most important trading place on the Han, between Hankau and Fanching, is *Sha yang-chin*. I counted upwards of five hundred vessels, of an average capacity of probably no more than 150 piculs, lying at anchor here. Two miles below the place, the goods coming from Sha-si reach the Han, as you have already stated in your report on the Upper Yangtse. The water-courses of the lake Tsi-peh-hu extend to within a li-and-a-half from the Han. Thence the goods are carried on horse-back and by coolies across an embankment to a sandy flat in the Han, where they are put again on boats. There were 37 boats at this place taking in cargo when I passed it. In summer there is an easier though more circuitous communication with Sha-si by way of Che-kou, a small village situated at the place of confluence with the Han of a river connecting with King-chau-fu. In winter it has not enough water to admit of any navigation.

Next in importance is *Yo-kou* or Yo-kia-kou, the port of the Tien-men district, and a mart for native cotton goods, for which that district has some repute. The fabrics are said not to be superior in quality to those from other places, but to be cheap and manufactured in large quantity. The best is made in pieces 28 Chinese feet long and 12 feet wide. Forty of these make one bale, which weighs fifty catties. The price varies between Tls. 14 and 18 per bale, and is said to be about the same as that of foreign cotton goods of similar quality, taking into account the difference in width. But it appears, from various inquiries, that the Chinese prefer the native manufacture, if prices are equal; the reason given by every one is, that they can wear it longer than foreign made cloth, and can make soles to their shoes of it when worn out, a use for which foreign cloth is unfit. Most of the cloth exported from Yo-kou is shipped up the Han, to Fanching and Lao-ho-kou.

Besides the two places mentioned, *Sin-kou* and *Sien-tau-chin* are trading-marts of some local importance, while the rest of those mentioned in the list appear to be of little significance for commerce.

The 3d, 4th, 5th, and 6th columns of the table relate more immediately to the river itself. Though merely approximations, the figures exhibit clearly the increasing width both of the river and the present water channel with the growing distance from Hankau. The total width of the river (fourth column) is taken between its natural banks. That between the artificial embankments which accompany the river to near I-ching-hien is ordinarily much larger. The width and course of the water channel below Shayang, and a little above it, are subjected to slight variations only, as compared with the fluctuations of both between Shayang and Fanching. While at every bend the slow work of waste on the concave side and of growth on the convex side, which is well known to attend every current of water, is going on, similar agencies cause much more rapid changes in the tortuous course of the river through the sandy plains which mark its bed above Shayang. The river here is full of shoals, and navigation is difficult and dangerous. I have seen dozens of vessels badly aground, although they go usually under safe guidance. As many as fifty or a hundred vessels can be seen sailing all in one direction, in close single file, those whose steersmen know the river best leading the way. A slight deviation from the deep water channel will often lead on to shoals, in places where they are least suspected. Running aground is much feared, on account of the rapid accumulation of sand around the vessel. The largest cargo boats going in winter between Hankau and Fanching draw four feet. But they are few, because they need a long time to make the journey. Where the water flows along the true bank of the river, they can go with comparative safety; but where it changes from one bank to the other, or flows for some distance through the sand, parallel to the banks, a boat is sent a-head to find the best track, by sounding, as the most experienced navigator of the river does not know the constant changes in the position of the shoals.

These circumstances preclude altogether any idea of navigating the Han-river by steamers in the winter months to Fanching or beyond. In April and May the water commences to rise, and it is high during several months in summer. The rise is so considerable, that there cannot be any doubt in regard to the probability of navigating the Han river in summer with steamers of moderate size, at least as high as Lao-ho-kou, which is situated 180 li above Fanching. But they would have no easy work, partly because in those seasons when the water is rising or subsiding it will be difficult, with the most experienced pilots, to avoid the shoals above Shayang, and partly because during the season of highest water the natural banks are overflowed, and there is nothing to mark them. The banks of the Yangtse are distinctly visible, even in times of inundation, but there is for long distances not a tree or a house indicating those of the Han between Yo-kou and I-ching.

These objections apply in a far less degree to the lower portion of the Han, than to its whole course, up to Fanching. It is not improbable, that an accurate survey would show that small steamers can ascend the Han for a little distance, say to Sien-tau-chin or even Yo-kou, during the winter months, provided they have passed a bar which is said to obstruct the

Fig 1

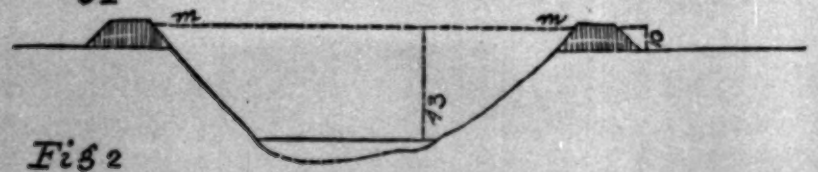


Fig 2



Fig 3

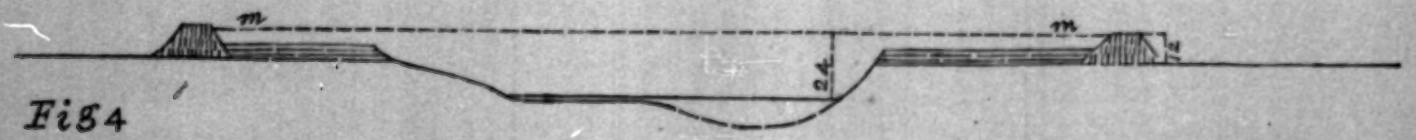
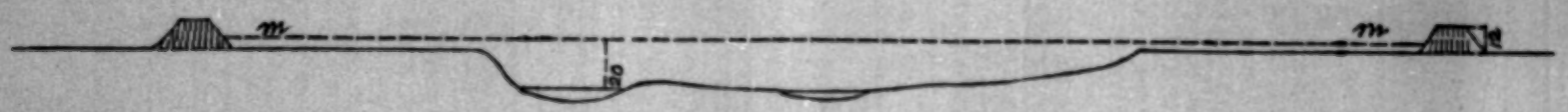


Fig 4



 indicates made ground.

m m indicates the line of highest level of water, in summer.

The vertical scale in these figures exceeds the horizontal from three to five times.

entrance at Hankau and can probably be removed. In summer, navigation would be perfectly safe to Yo-kou, and probably as far up as Ma-liang, 187 miles from Hankau. It is from here, chiefly, that the dangers which I mentioned commence.

That the navigation of the Han is considered difficult, is evident from the fact, that freight per picul from Hankow to Fanching is from 240 to 250 cash, while the same carriers will convey goods for 180 cash per picul from Hankau to the South of Hunan, the Siang being safer for native craft than the Han.

The fifth column relates to the rapidity of the current. The same figures would not be correct for the summer months, when an upper current sets sometimes from the Yangtse into the Han, at Hankau. In seasons of great floods, still water extends for some distance up the Han, while in that portion of the river above Shayang there is said to be a moderate but equal current, swifter on an average than it is in winter. Above Lao-ho-kou, however, there are said to be rocky rapids more difficult to pass in summer than in winter.

A comparison between the sixth and seventh columns of the table will explain the fearful misery to which a good portion of the plains adjoining the Han is exposed in seasons of high water. This plain of southern Hupe, including a portion of Hunan with the Tungting lake, covers an area of about 20,000 statute square miles, and is quite isolated from the rest of the Chinese plains. The relations indicated by the figures of the last column are so unusual with rivers flowing in plains, that a hasty look at them might make it appear as if this plain formed a basin having its deepest depression in the region of Sien-tau-chin, which is moreover situated between a meridional chain of lakes about a hundred miles long, and one may be surprised not to see the plain covered here by one large and permanent lake. As this question is of interest with regard to the frequently recuring floods, I adjoin a diagram which shows that the figures given above accord completely with a gradual descent of the plain.*

The overflow of the Han would be terrible if the inhabitants had not adopted, in the most exposed regions, a system of embanking which it needed probably a very long time to bring to its present perfection, but which is now well adapted to resist the pressure of water and powerful currents of the Han. It can be best understood from a section of the river at Sien-tau-chin, which I insert on next page. The elevation of the plain above low water is here no more than one foot, and the river rises in summer about 26 feet above its lowest level. There is a high embankment thrown up on either side. Between the two there is another plain, about eighteen feet above low water, and in this the river is cut. The belt of elevated ground is from fifty to a few hundred feet wide, on either side. The river overflows it every summer, and deposits on it new layers of sand and soil, thus strengthening the embankments from year to year. The mode in which these strong bulkheads were first formed is indicated by the custom of the people to add continually to the height and outer walls of the embankments, using chiefly some of the material recently deposited between them. It appears therefore, that the foundations of those elevated belts consist of the remnant of ancient earthworks, which were lower than the present ones, and answered all requirements, ages ago, when the bed of the river was cut deeper than it is now in the alluvial soil of the plain.

I have adjoined to the section of the Han and its embankments at Sien-tau-chin a few others, taken at various places:

Fig. 1—Is a section taken a few miles above Hankau, where the banks are high and the surrounding country elevated 35 feet above low water level. The dams are only in some places so close to the riverside as here represented.

Fig. 2—Is the section of Sien-tau-chin, just described.

Fig. 3—Shows the embankments near Ye-kia-tan. The plain is elevated about 14 feet above low water, and the rise of the river is about 24 feet. The dams are built some distance off the natural banks of the river. These are raised by yearly deposition of sediment, in a similar way as near Sien-tau-chin, but the stratified layers rest here immediately on the soil of the plain.

Fig. 4—Is a section across the Han near Ngan-lu-fu. Here, too, the embankments are thrown up at a good distance, as much as half a mile in some places, from the river. The broad current appears to be here exceedingly destructive. I did not notice any difference of level on the two sides of the dams.

Last year's floods have destroyed the embankments of the Han in a great many places, chiefly where they were built close to the riverside. They have withstood them best in that region where the plain is lowest in relation to the level of the river. This fact will no longer appear strange, if it is considered that here, chiefly, the embankments are protected by the bulkheads shown in Fig. 2 and 3, which are made and strengthened by the river itself.

I have heard it pronounced on various occasions, that the frequent floods would render impossible the building of a railroad to Hankau, and through the plain of Hupè generally. Considering merely this technical question, I believe that, by strengthening the present embankments, a railroad could be constructed in the direction of the Han river, without any unusually large expense, while at the same time no greater benefit could be conferred upon these plains, than to lessen the dangers from floods, by the same means which would vastly enhance the well-being of the population in so many other respects. The great work of restoring the embankments is done at present by the order of government, and people are forced to work for the pittance of 50 cash per day. They would hail a more liberal employer. I do not believe that a line up the Han is at all contemplated by those who indulge in schemes for covering China

* When writing these last lines, I intended to insert here a sketch of a diagram, but I have since then made a copy of one I have drawn on scale, and will enclose it in this letter. The figures of the table are repeated in it.

with a net-work of railroads. But whatever connection of Hankau with the north or east be contemplated, a railroad would have to be built up or down some river or other, and it is likely that most of those which would be available are, within the plains of Hupè, accompanied by embankments similar to those of the Han.

I have not met anywhere in China with people more inoffensive and good-natured than those inhabiting the banks of the Han. I have not experienced the slightest attempt at an insult, nor even an unpleasant word, from them; they never crowded to satisfy their curiosity, and met me with civility everywhere, forming in every way a remarkable contrast to the people of Hunan, not excepting, however, that they are less cleanly in dress and habits.

A year ago, when travelling in Shan-tung, I was frequently warned in good earnest by the Chinese, not to go to Peking, as all foreigners there had been killed. The news appears to have spread at the time over a large portion of Northern China as it was current in Shansi. It was evidently nothing but the expression of a feeling of the supposed superiority of the Chinese Government over Foreigners. Strangely contrasting with it, I found now the notion current among the people on the Han, that the "affairs of the Emperor" are in a very bad condition, and that he had to flee to Szechuen to seek protection by his troops. They ascribe to this supposed ill-fate of their Sovereign the drought which has prevailed in the first quarter of this year and has greatly increased the sufferings initiated by the floods of last year. They submit to them quietly, being convinced of so plausible a cause. I could not ascertain whether this feeling is due to the remarkable success which the French charge' d' affaires has had lately in some of these middle provinces. But it is very probably the cause. If so, the fact would be a striking illustration of the deep effect which quiet demonstration of power has on the Chinese mind, quite apart from that effect which pressure may exert on the authorities.

I will write at this place only a few words regarding the products of the Han-valley. They appear to be mostly, if not exclusively, agricultural. Coal is imported from as far off as Lui-yang in Hang-chau-fu, Hunan, and none at all is brought down the Han. There appears to be a great scarcity of wood, as large quantities of it are imported as high up as Shayang from the Miautse country in western Hunan, on the borders of Kwei-chau. The most noteworthy product of the valley, chiefly of the plain on the lower Han, appears to be cotton. Besides it, wheat, rapeseed, tobacco, and various kinds of beans are the staples of the agricultural produce. I am told that no rice is grown in the valley of the Han itself. Some is said to be cultivated on terraced ground between the hills on both sides of the valley, but nearly all that is needed for consumption on the river is imported from the neighbourhood of Tung-ting lake. No sugar is grown, nor did I see any mulberry trees; bamboo is represented only by sparse groves of a small species. The export of vegetable tallow from this portion of Hupè is large, but I did not see any tallow trees in the plain.

As I have mentioned the gold washings on the Han river, I will add a word about them, though they are hardly deserving of notice from an economical point of view. Gold is washed from banks of coarse gravel, a little distance above I-ching-hien. The gravel is shaken with water in a basket, through the meshes of which the dirt escapes upon an inclined rifled board of a few feet in length. At intervals the concentrated dirt is collected from the grooves into a pan and washed by hand. In the handling of the pan the Chinese of this country have acquired a skill that would excite the envy of a practised Californian gold-digger. The gold is fine and in flakes. It appears that the diggers earn from 50 to 150 cash a day per head. The same gravelly beds are worked every winter, as soon as they are laid bare. The gold is, however, found only in the surface layer, which is scraped off about six inches deep. From the quantity of gravel washed in a certain time, and the yield of one day's work, which I saw being concentrated in a pan, I calculated that seven men are able to wash twenty tons of gravel a day, and that the average yield in gold is about $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 cents per ton. A singular illustration is here afforded of the fable of the goose laying golden eggs. Every year, the gold is exhausted by man, and its supply renewed by the river; and, if it was at all possible to introduce here contrivances for working a large quantity of gravel in a short time (which is not the case), cupidity would at once destroy the conditions for the yearly yield of gold. The water flows with great velocity in this portion of the river. The gravel banks act on the same principle as the rifles of the Chinese, concentrating on their uneven surfaces the gold from its immensely fine and scanty distribution in the river-sand, of which probably millions of tons are yearly carried over these places in the season of high water. When this subsides, the Chinese comes to reap his regular and unfailing crop.

The old establishment of the custom is proved by the method and skill of the diggers, and by the name of the neighbouring place, Li-kin-tien, which means "gold-diggers inn." Its inhabitants subdivide the ground every year, and stake off their partitions. They pay no royalty or taxes on gold, and appear just to earn a living during those months of the year when they find no employment in field-work.

FANCHING, *April 3rd*, 1870

I arrived at this place yesterday. I expected to find a large trading-place, and was surprised to see only a small town with a water-front of only half a mile, and every evidence of being not the seat of large commerce. The amount of shipping on the Han is very large, and in navigating it, one gets fully impressed with the importance of this throughfare. But the number of vessels lying at anchor here is small; it is frequently surpassed by the number of those which one meets on the river in the course of a few hours. Besides some mandarin-boats, there are here about a hundred cargo-boats carrying 200 piculs and upwards, and small craft are no better represented in proportion. This scarcity of shipping is owing in part to the circumstance that there are a great number of ships at Tang-ho-kow or Lung-kin a small village three miles below Fan-ching,

situated on the mouth of the Tang-ho. A small affluent of this, the Pei-ho, is ascended by small boats, both in summer and winter, to the mart of Shay-ke-chin, distant from Fan-ching, about 500 *li* by water and 380 *li* by land. I estimated the number of small boats lying at Lung-kin at 1,500, and there were many of moderate size, and several of the largest ships that navigate the Han. Lung-kin may in fact be called the port of Fan-ching, and its shipping should, properly, be added when that of Fan-ching is considered.

The cause of the subordinate importance of Fan-ching as a commercial place is at once understood when its position is considered. It owes its existence to the fact, that here the Han (following it up-stream) turns from a south and north into an east and west direction, and that, just at the turning point, it is joined by a navigable north and south river (Pei-ho), which is connected by an easy passage with the valley of the Yellow River. The trade-route up the Han forks therefore at Fan-ching, one branch following the Han to Lao-ho-kou (180 *li*) and Hang-chung-fu (2,300 *li*), the other leading by Shay-ke-chin to north-eastern Honan, and further on to Shansi and Chili. By those vessels taking the first route, Fan-ching is passed unnoticed, while the goods destined for the second are merely transhipped. Unlike Siang-tan, where the merchants actually buy medicines and foreign goods, and a great many other imports, and redistribute them in various directions, Fan-ching is mainly a place of passage, by far the greater portion of the goods arriving with through tickets for the northern marts, and stopping merely to be put on carts or small boats. Passing through Siang-tan, the goods change their owners, passing by Fan-ching they change only their mode of conveyance.

Lao-ho-kou occupies a slightly more favourable position than Fan-ching. There, too, the trade-route forks. One branch again follows the Han-river, and another establishes the connection with Shansi. Goods for the latter province are conveyed on small boats up the Tan-ho-river to the mart of Tin-tse-kwan, whence a passage by land of five days, over a mountainous road, brings them to Si-ngan-fu.* The time occupied from Fan-ching toTin-tse-kwan is usually twenty days. But, besides this similarity with Fan-ching, Lao-ho-kow has the additional advantage of being situated at the head of comparatively easy navigation on the Han. Small boats only are used in ascending the river beyond that mart.

The shipping at Lao-ho-kou, as may be expected from these reasons, is said to be larger than that of Fan-ching, and the trade more considerable.

Fan-ching is a well-built place, and the streets are lined with shops. It has evidently a great deal of small trade. But there are no warehouses, nor does one see much carrying of goods, and the streets have no busy appearance, the water-front even is quiet. The shops are supplied more with the necessaries of life than with articles of luxury. Foreign piece-goods occupy a conspicuous place, the largest shops being well supplied with them. I noticed that Russian broad-cloth is much in use.

A distinguishing feature of Fan-ching is the number and variety of small manufacturies. Silk brocades are made in great quantity. The thick thread used for them is made from silk raised in the vicinity, but the amount of this produce is said to be small; it is sold at Tls. 3 per catty. Another manufacture employing many hands is that of ribbons, both of silk and cotton. The silk thread used for them, which is thin and strong, is imported from Su-chau. There are workers in tin, carvers in ivory and bone, makers of artificial flowers, and other small artisans whose numerous workshops give the city the appearance of quiet industry. The people were exceedingly well behaved, and I walked repeatedly through the streets, quite unmolested; this was due, in part, to the measures which had been taken by the authorities during the presence of the French chargé d'affaires, a few weeks ago; but apart from this circumstance, I can fully apply to the people of Fan-ching my previous remarks on those of the banks of the Han in general.

It is a remarkable circumstance, that the valley of the Han, situated as it is between several coal-producing regions, appears to be totally deficient in coal-mines. Hunan coal is carried in quantity to Fan-ching and Lao-ho-kou. It is sold at the former place for five cash per cattie.

The distance of Peking from Fan-ching is 24 stations reckoned at about 100 *li* each. Freight on this route is from 3½ to 4½ cash per catty per 100 *li*. More goods are sent by water to Shay-ke-chin, whereby a trifling saving is occasioned.

It uppears that only two waggon-roads lead to the north: one, the Peking road, by way of Kai-fung-fu. or Pien-yang-chin, by which name alone that city is known here; the other, the Shansi-road by way of Ho-nan-fu. They divide at Nan-yang-fu. I will start to-morrow by cart on the road to Ho-nan-fu, Shansi, and Peking. Hoping that, on my arrival at that place, I shall be able to write on more interesting matters than you will find related in this present letter, I remain &c.

FEO. F. v. RICHTHOFEN.

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* Freight from Fan-ching to Si-ngan-fu is Tls. 1. 2, 0 per picul.

No. III.

REPORT

BY

BARON VON RICHTHOFEN,

ON THE

PROVINCES OF

HONAN AND SHANSI.

SHANGHAI:
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No. III.

REPORT BY BARON VON RICHTHOFEN.

ON THE

PROVINCES OF HONAN AND SHANSE.

A. Michie, Esq.,

Chairman of Committee of Shanghai General Chamber of Commerce.

Dear Sir,

I have completed my journey overland from Canton to Peking, and hasten to write you some particulars relating to the latter part of it.

I left Hankow on March 12th, and ascended the Han river to the mart of Fanching, opposite the city of Siangyang-fu. As I addressed you an account of my observations on the Han river from that place, I now commence my notes with the departure from Fanching.

The road to the north forks at Nanyang-fu. The main branch, which has been repeatedly gone over by foreigners (f. i. Mr. Wylie in 1866, Mr. Oxenham in 1868, Comte Rochechouart in 1870), continues through nearly level country to Pien-liang-ching or Kai-fung-fu, and thence to Peking; while another branch leads directly north, through a mountainous region, to Ho-nan-fu. I took the latter route. I then examined several coal districts situated in the province of Honan, north and south of the Yellow River. From Hwai-king-fu I continued my journey through Shansi. The main line of it is marked by the places: Tse-chau-fu, Ping-yang-fu, Tai-yuen-fu, Ping-ting-chau, Ching-ting-fu, Peking.

I will now attempt to give you a sketch of the main features of the regions through which I passed, confining my account to such subjects as may be of immediate and practical interest. As I went through districts which differ much from each other in character, I will describe them in the order in which I passed through them.

Province of Honan.

From Fan-ching 樊城, the waggon road follows the course of the Pe-ho. The frontier of Hupè and Honan is reached after 85 li of travel. My route then led by Sin-ye-hien, Nan-yang-fu, Nan-chau, Lu-shan-hien Ju-chau, Honan-fu, Kung-hien, Tz'shui-hien, to Hwai-king-fu, which is a total distance of 1,200 li, on roads which, with the exception of that portion between Fan-ching and Nan-yang-fu, had not before been seen by foreigners. Even the early Jesuits appear not to have been acquainted with the important passage of Nanchau. I believe that nowhere on earth does there exist a more good-natured race than inhabits the province of Honan. It is true, that in few portions of China was I so much molested, by the curiosity of the people, as in the cities and, chiefly, the trading marts of Honan. The news of our journey preceded us constantly, and we * found frequently tens of thousands of people waiting to see us, and the roads lined for miles by the villagers of the vicinity; but, importunate as this crowding is, it is impossible to be much provoked, when one sees the anxiety of the people carefully to avoid anything that might give offence. I heard the epithet of "Yang-kwei-tsze" only in one or two places, situated on the Yellow River. The density of the population is enormous, chiefly in the low lands adjoining the Yellow River, on the north.

1. *Valley of the Pe-ho.—*

Two twin rivers, the Tang-ho (唐河) and the Pe-ho (白河) drain an area of about 8,000 (statute) square miles, of that portion of Honan which belongs to the basin of the Han. Both are navigable for small boats, all the year round. They unite a short distance before emptying into the Han, the Tang river giving the name to their joint waters, and to the shipping place (Tang-ho-kou 唐河口) which is situated at its mouth, about three miles below Fan-ching. The Tang-ho† is the more important of the two, as on one of its affluents, the Tsan-ho, is situated the famous mart

* That is, myself and my interpreter, Paul Splingaert, a Belgian, who has been my companion on my travels through China for eighteen months. I cannot praise too highly the services he has rendered me, by his admirable ability in Chinese conversation, by his courageous conduct and good tact, as well as by his honesty and fidelity. I owe it to him, that we are on friendly terms with the natives wherever we have an opportunity to have intercourse with them.

† The river has its name from the city of Tang-hien, situated on its banks, and must not be confounded with the Tan-ho (丹河,) another important affluent of the Han, by which goods are shipped from Lao-ho-kou to Shensi.

of Shi-ki-chin (賒旗鎮,) which is the entrepot for the transport of all merchandize, between the northeastern provinces on the one hand, and the central and southwestern on the other. Its importance is evident, if it is considered, that there is from here a continuous water-communication, south, west, and south-east, to remote regions of the Empire, while to the north and northwest there is no longer any water-communication at all, and in a northeasterly direction it commences only at a considerable distance; also, that there is no other road besides that passing through Shi-ki-chin, by which goods can with convenience be transported from Hupè, Szechuen, Hunan, etc. to Honan, Shansi, and some portions of Chili. These circumstances place Shi-ki-chin considerably ahead of Fanching, as regards their relative commercial importance. I have tried to show, in my letter from Fan-ching, that the value of that place is overrated. The reason why it is better known than Shi-ki-chin, to the merchants of Hankow is, that the vessels which leave Hankow, with goods destined for the northeastern provinces, are only bound to Fanching, where all merchandize is put on small boats, adapted for the shallows of the Tang-ho. This river is so short that the rains, in summer, can exert only a temporary and transitory influence on the state of the water, and is therefore navigated by small boats all the year round.

The Pe-ho is navigable to Nan-yang-fu, at all seasons. The navigation is difficult and slow, on account of the numerous bends, and not of any importance excepting for the adjoining districts.

The great Peking road follows the Pe-ho to Nan-yang-fu, and is joined near Yu-chau by a branch from Shi-ki-chin. For this reason, there is scarcely any traffic on it between Fanching and Yu-chau, while from that place onwards the road is said to be a much travelled highway.

The Honanfu road is equally destitute of traffic, between Nan-yang-fu and Nan-chau. Here it is joined by a road from Shi-ki-chin, and this junction is immediately attended by the signs of a considerable intercommunication.

The valley of the two rivers is an extensive and densely populated plain, of moderate fertility, surrounded by barren hills. It appears that in the north-east there is a wide gap (not marked on maps), between the northern and eastern hills, as the Peking road is said to pass through open country all the way to Kai-fung-fu, and hills being visible only in the distance. The products of the country are agricultural, and, though very large in quantity, appear to be mostly consumed by the great number of inhabitants. With the exception of cotton, of which a considerable quantity is exported westward, hemp, a trifling amount of silk, and an inferior kind of opium, which is only raised for local consumption, none of the productions appear to deserve much notice.

Before leaving this region, I must mention the occurrence of coal in it. As I did not know before of the existence of any coalfield at all, in the whole basin of the Han river, and as the total absence of this fuel appeared to be corroborated by the fact, that Hunan coal is largely shipped to Fanching, and up the Pe-ho to Nan-yang-fu (where it is sold at 5 to 5½ *cash* per cattie), I was much interested to learn, that coal is mined in the Kiu-li-shan, a mountain range one hundred li north of Nan-yang-fu, and the first on the borders of the valley, I visited the place. The coal-bearing strata occur here quite isolated and in a very remarkable position. They carry two small seams of inferior anthracite, which is dug in quite a number of small mines, and sold at 1 *cash* per cattie. At Nan-yang-fu it could be delivered at 5 *cash*; but it cannot compete at that price with the coal from Hunan, which has travelled more than twenty-five times the distance. The locality will not deserve any further attention; but it retains its interest as the only known instance of the occurrence of coal in the basin of the Han river.

2. *The Fu-niu-shan.* (伏牛山)—

Between the plain of Nan-yang-fu and the valley of Lu-shan-hien, on the Sha-ho, I passed through a series of parallel mountain ranges, trending W. by N. to E. by S., and chiefly consisting of metamorphic formations and granite. The main range is known all over the country by the name of Fu-niu-shan, and retains it for the length of 800 li. As this is one of the few instances where the Chinese have given a definite, and generally-accepted, name to a long range of mountains, it should be retained, in the place of "Pe-ling," and other vague denominations, by which the same range is designated on our maps.

This mountain range is of interest and importance, being, as it appears, the eastern termination of the great (Chinese) Kwen-lun range of Central Asia, which gives origin to the Yellow River. Being nearly impassable, it forms, throughout its extent, an efficient barrier to inter-communication, first between Kokonoor and Tibet, and then between northern and central China. There are only two passages known to me, west of that at Nan-chau. One is between Lao-ho-kou on the Han and Si-ngan-fu in Shensi. It is said to lead through narrow gorges and over a high pass. The other connects Si-ngan-fu with Han-chung-fu, on the head waters of the Han. It is a famous mountain road, reputed for its wild scenery and the high mountains which it crosses. It forms part of the highway from Peking to Ching-tu fu and Tibet. These two roads are only passable for pack-animals. The first and only convenient trade road, through the same mountain range, is that by way of Nanchau, which I took. The altitude of the pass above the sea is between 1,000 and 1,500 feet, though the mountains rise to 4,000 and 5,000 feet on either side, and attain greater altitudes a little distance west. The watershed is approached from the south by an affluent of the Pe-ho, and the northern descent follows a small feeder of the Sha-ho. If an engineer were to construct an imaginary cut, through a high mountain range, for laying a convenient railroad track, he could scarcely solve his task more perfectly than nature has done in this gigantic cut—thousands of feet deep, and one hundred li in length, which crosses all the parallel ranges composing the Fu-niu-shan. The grade is so gentle, and the width of the passage so favourable, that a railroad could be built through it without the slightest difficulty.

A little further east, the great range of the Fu-niu-shan terminates. It constitutes probably one of the most important features in the geography and geology of China.

From an economical point of view, little positive importance attaches directly to this range (the Fu-niu-shan). With the exception of the populous city of Nan-chau, the country is thinly inhabited. It excels, however, in the culture of wild silk, which is brought for sale to Lu-shan-hien. Many hill-sides, consisting of granite, marble, sandstone, and other kinds of rock that do not excel by the fertility of the soil resulting from their decomposition, are covered with stumps of oaks, planted in rows. These belong to two species, the leaves of both of which constitute the food of the wild silkworm. There are two crops of worms raised, one in June, and the other in August. Late frosts damage the leaves of the oak trees; dry heat is injurious to the worms, while rains are favourable to their growth. In the last two years the worms were small and sickly; and as the crops on the fields, too, had failed, I found the people living in the hills off the road, literally in a starving condition.

3. *Lu-shan-hien and Ju-chau.*

Lu-shan-hien is situated in the broad valley of the Sha-ho, Ju-chau in that of the Ju-ho. Lu-shan-hien (魯山縣) is widely known by its large trade in wild silk, which is all raised in the Fu-niu-shan. I am sorry that I cannot give particulars in regard to this trade; the almost unexampled crowding of people rendered it utterly impossible to make enquiries. I have seen only very coarse but very durable fabrics. The raw silk is torn off from the cocoons, and threads are spun from it in the rudest manner. This thread is sold at a little less than a tael per cattie. It is probable that the cultivation of the silk oak is capable of great extension among these barren hills, of which no other use is made; and that the manipulations can be much improved, if the inhabitants are encouraged to use more care, in a similar way as the crops of tea in Hunan and Hupè have increased in quantity and improved in quality, in consequence of the increased foreign demand. There is also some silk of the mulberry silkworm, made in the valley of the Sha-ho.

Lushan is a very populous city, and the seat of various manufactures, such as paper, pottery, and iron-castings. The pig-iron is imported from Tsechaufu in Shansi. Formerly it was procured from the vicinity, as I will show in another paragraph; and the amount of old iron, on hand from that time, may in part account for the general use to which iron is put throughout this region. I was particularly struck by the extensive use of carts with four wheels of cast-iron, and of superior construction. They are employed in the transportation of freight for short and long distances. Potteries are plentiful in the vicinity.

Some of these industrial pursuits are due to the vicinity of the coalfield of Lu-shan and Juchau, which extends, as a plateau of a few hundred feet elevation, between the valleys of the two rivers. The width, where I crossed it, is 70 li. This coal region is otherwise comparatively unproductive.

Juchau (汝州) is situated in a valley which is about six miles broad, and abounds in agricultural products. While the Sha-ho winds its course slowly over a flat of sand and pebbles about a mile in width, the Ju-ho, owing to the greater altitude of its valley, is a rapid stream, and has well defined channels. All beyond their banks is rich bottomland, capable of constant irrigation from wells. The scenery is beautiful, owing to the picturesque background of the Fu-niu-shan to the southwest, and a cluster of high mountain ranges which intervenes between Juchau and the Yellow river; among them is the Sung-shan, one of the five sacred mountains of China, and probably about 7,000 feet high. The most prominent feature in the landscape is the isolated Wei-ton-shan, standing high aloft in front of the Fu-niu-shan. Large lead mines are said to be worked in it. Silver is extracted from the lead. This metal (at 140 *cash* per cattie), together with white lead, is exported to Shansi and Shensi.

Cotton is the staple of the agricultural products. It is exported by Shi-ki-chin (360 li) to Fanching and Lao-ho-kou. The price at Juchau is 380 *cash* per cattie of 22 ounces, at Fanching from 280 to 300 *cash* per cattie of 16 ounces. Eighty out of every hundred *mow* were said to be planted with cotton, at the time of the second crop. Wheat, barley, peas, beans, rapeseed, sweet potatoes and poppy constitute the first crop; cotton, Indian corn, millet, kauliang, beans, and hemp, the second.

4. *Ho-nan-fu.*—

The road from Juchau to Ho-nan-fu leads around the west end of the triangular-shaped group of the high Sungshan ranges, through a slightly elevated but open country of moderate fertility. A few miles south of the city it passes through the natural gate of the Lung-men, whose steep limestone walls are adorned with monuments of the Wei and Tang dynasties, when Lo-yang, near Ho-nan-fu, was the capital of the Empire. The finest piece of workmanship is a temple of the Wei, excavated in the solid rock, and dedicated to the mother of Buddha. Its walls are covered with inscriptions and bas-reliefs. I had brushings taken of some of the former, with the intention of presenting them to the Asiatic Society. But Dr. Wells Williams, who had the kindness to decipher them for me, informs me that they are of no value, being only votive tablets from the time of the Wei dynasty, put under effigies of Buddha, and dating from the year 497 to 520 of our era. The bas-reliefs are remarkable on account of their graceful design.

Ho-nan-fu is situated in the fertile valley of the Lo-ho, which extends eastward to Kung-hien. It is parallel to the Yellow River, and separated from it by a ridge about 500 feet high. The city offers nothing remarkable. But in the vicinity, chiefly in the northern hills and among the temples

of the Sung-shan (嵩山)* the antiquarian may find interesting relics of those dynasties which had their residence near Ho-nan-fu.

Three roads from the east and south unite at Honan-fu, and only one leads west. This fact gives some importance to that city as a place of transit, because there is no waggon-road leading west from Kiangnan, Shantung and eastern Honan, but that must pass through Honan-fu by one of the three lines mentioned, in order to reach the northwestern provinces. As they are important trade roads, a few more words in regard to them may be of interest.

1st. The southern road forks at Ju-chau, both branches leading to important centres of commerce. The first, to Shi-ki-chin, connects the trade to and from Fanching, Hankow, and the Han river generally. The second goes to Chow-kia-kou (周家口) a very considerable mart situated in Honan, near the city of Chin-chau-fu, at the place of confluence of three rivers, which unite to form the Sha-ho. This river, in its turn, joins the Hwai-ho (淮河) a well-known feeder of that portion of the grand canal, north of Yang-chau-fu. Chow-kia-kou is considered as the head of navigation, though rivers may be ascended by small boats a short distance farther up, at high water. I learned that the navigation from Chingkiang to Chow-kia-kou is by no means easy. There is a place in the department of Fung-yang-fu, where the Hwai river is full of rocks. Boats cannot pass it, and all goods must be carried eight li by land. Then they continue their journey through to Chow-kia-kou by water, but the navigation of the Sha-ho is said to be difficult. I did not learn particulars in regard to the charges for freight, and the squeezes between Chingkiang and Chow-kia-kou.

2nd. The second road leaves Honan-fu by the east gate, and continues parallel to the Yellow river, and south of it, to Pien-liang-ching or Kia-fung-fu. I followed it to Sz'shui-hien, a distance of 195 li. Between Kung-hien and Sz'shui-hien it crosses a ridge over 1,000 feet high, a very inconvenient passage. It is little in use, excepting by travellers. What little traffic there is from the marts of Lung-men-kou and Pien-liang (both situated on the Hwang-ho) to Honan-fu ascends the river to Mang-tsin-hien, 40 li from Honan-fu.

3rd. The third road crosses the Hwang-ho at Mang-tsin-hien, and goes thence in a north-easterly direction to Hwaikingfu, Siu-wu-hein and Wei-hwui-fu, where it joins the great road from Fanching to Peking. The chief commercial place with which it establishes a connection is Tau-kou-chin (道口鎮) situated on the Wei-ho, 70 li below Wei-hwui-fu. It is 1,200 li distant from Tientsin, and is said to be reached from that place by easy navigation.

4th. The western road follows the southern bank of the Yellow River for 700 li, to its great bend at the fortified pass know as the Tung-kwan, which plays an important part in Chinese history. Here it unites with another great waggon-road coming from Peking, through the province of Shanse. The united trunk road goes then on to Si-ngan-fu and Lan-chau-fu, and is passable for carts at least as far as Su-chau-fu, far in northwestern Kansu, and 3,500 li distant from Honan-fu. There are several branches from this trunk-road in Shensi.

By this system of roads, Honan-fu and the northwestern provinces are connected with three places of commerce, each of which marks the head of permanent navigation of the respective rivers on which they are situated, namely, Shi-ki-chin, which establishes the connection with Hankow, Chowkiakou, the depôt of the goods coming from Chinkiang, and Tankow, which occupies a similar position in respect to Tientsin. The two other places, Lungmenkou and Pienliang, are of subordinate importance. The distance of Honan-fu from Shi-ki-chin is 540 li, from Chow-kia-kou 700 li, and from Tankow 500 li. They are all connected with Honan-fu by what the Chinese call good waggon roads. Although freight from Shanghai to Chowkiakou is probably cheaper than to the two other places, that mart contributes scarcely at all to the supply of Honan-fu, owing to the greater distance by land, and, perhaps, to extravagant squeezes on the water route; while between Shī-ki-chin and Tankou the imports appear to be fairly divided. One can, indeed, indicate with safety the mart from which each separate place in Honan receives its chief imports, if one takes account of its relative distance from each of the three sources, or rather intermediate places, of supply. Thus, Ju-chau draws its imports almost exclusively from Shi-ki-chin, Hwai-king-fu from Tan-kow, while the southeastern portion of the province is supplied from Chow-kia-kou. It is difficult to tell which, of the three places, takes the largest share of the commerce of the province of Honan. But Shi-ki-chin and Tan-kow have an advantage in supplying Honan-fu, through which a considerable amount of goods pass that are destined for Shensi and Kansu.

The conditions as here described, will probably be modified in the course of the next few years. Tankow is more favourably situated than Shi-ki-chin, because, during the greater part of the year, goods can be carried by boat to Siu-wu-hien, 170 li higher up the Wei river, and 330 li from Honan-fu. It is probably owing to the old-established trade connection with Hankow, which formerly supplied all southern produce and foreign goods, that Tankow has not yet gained the ascendency over Shi-ki-chin, in furnishing the region of Honan fu with foreign imports; it needs only time to effect this change. On the other hand, Hankow will not lose, because it will eventually monopolize the importation of most articles into Shensi and Kansu, by the mart of Lao-ho-kou

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* I would strongly advise any traveller who may hereafter visit the region of Ho-nan-fu, not to neglect making a trip from Ju-chau to Tang-fung-hien. This city is situated between the mountains, and immediately at the foot of the sacred Sung-shan and the still grander Yu-tsai-shan, both of which are said to be full of ancient temples. The scenery must be very grand, and the geology of exceeding interest. I did not visit the place, because I had had no opportunity, previous to my visit, of forming a correct idea of the country. It happens frequently, on a first tour of reconnaissance, that one knows too late what would have been the best route of travel, and must be satisfied with giving a hint to succeeding travellers.

(老河口) on the Han, and thereby divert a portion of the Tientsin trade, which is already rapidly diminishing in value. By that route (Lao-ho-kou) there are five days of land travel to Si-ngan-fu, while by way of Shi-ki-chin and Honan-fu, or of Tankow and Ho-nan-fu, there are fifteen. It is the length of transportation by land which comes almost solely in consideration, in China; where the supply depends upon the cost of freight, a few hundred li more or less by water do not materially affect it.

The cost of transportation by land of goods, whether it be done by carts, on animals, on wheelbarrows, or by men, is nearly the same throughout the whole country, from Fanching to Peking, and may be safely put at $3\frac{1}{3}$ to $3\frac{2}{3}$ *cash* per li per picul, (equal to about 16 cents per English mile per ton). In some exceptional cases (for instance where camels are employed), I found it as low as $2\frac{1}{4}$ *cash*, and in others (as on difficult hill-roads), as high as 4 *cash* per picul; but the first figures may be taken as the true standard, on all great trade-roads. As compared with boat traffic on the Chinese waters, the cost of freight by land is therefore from twenty to forty times as high as the usual standard on those rivers which are easily navigated.

The chief article of trade of the region of Honan-fu is cotton. It appears that the various imports are chiefly paid for by the sale of this staple. I was told that the sales continue all the year round, and average about 10,000 taels daily, in the city. It is chiefly exported to Shen-si and Kansu, a smaller amount to Shan-si, and Hupè. When I travelled through the country, it was just the time of sowing cotton; by far the greater portion of all land, other than alluvial, had been prepared for this culture. The alluvial bottomlands along the Lo-ho, which are yearly inundated, were a magnificent garden of wheat, fruit-trees and poppy.

The cultivation of the poppy is spread throughout all the regions which I traversed. In Honan and Shansi, people date the commencement of the use of opium 25 years back, that of the cultivation of the poppy twelve years. Since that time the progress in both respects has been astonishing, and on the whole route from Fanching to Peking, I found scarcely any but native opium in use. Wealthy people only continue to smoke the foreign or "Kwangtung" opium, and acknowledge that it is superior in flavour to the Chinese. It appears that a great deal of it is adulterated by the Canton merchants, in order to put it within reach of the common people. No wonder therefore, that the inhabitants of small towns and villages are generally of the opinion, that Indian opium is inferior, in quality, to the better descriptions of their own produce.

The general classification of opium, from different countries, in regard to quality, is as follows. 1st, Indian or "Kwangtung;" 2nd, Kansu; 3rd, Shensi; 4th, Honan and Shansi; 5th, Szechuen and Kweichau. There is only one opinion as to the superiority of the Kan-su and Shensi opium, and the inferiority of that from Szechuen and Kweichau, to that produced in all other provinces of China. The gradations in price are in perfect accordance with these distinctions. Szechuen opium is everywhere the cheapest, and therefore extensively consumed by the common people. Its price varies between 400 and 500 *cash* a tael; Hupè, Honan, Shansi, sell at 600 to 700 *cash*; Shensi, at 800; Kansu from 900 to 1000; foreign at 800 to 1600 *cash*. All these prices are for prepared opium. From all I could learn, it may be said that the foreign drug is nearly driven out of the market; or, at least, that it is almost only in use with those classes of people who can afford to pay for the flavour of the unadulterated article. This is probably due, in some measure, to adulteration; but it is quite certain, that even the better descriptions of Indian opium have to compete with a dangerous rival in that raised in the provinces of Kansu and Shensi.

5. *The Yellow River.*—

I crossed the Yellow River near Sz'shui-hien, 200 li east of Honan-fu. The river is here about one and a half mile wide, and divided into several shallow branches, with broad sandbanks between. The southern shore is steep, the northern flat and indistinct. These appear to be the main features of the river, for a considerable distance west and east of the place where I crossed it. The water is extremely muddy, the current from two to three miles an hour. The mere crossing of the river is attended with considerable difficulty. It is said to occupy not unfrequently a whole day, and not to be possible at all when the wind is fresh from the west. These circumstances did not bode well for the news I was to gather, in regard to the capability of the river for navigation. The substance of my information is this, that the Yellow River is navigable between the mart of Lung-men-kou * and the city of Mang-tsin-hien, 40 *li* northeast of Ho-nan-fu, a total distance of 125 miles, in an air line. The boats should draw no more than three feet, and most of them draw only one foot. The navigation is slow and difficult, on account of the frequent shoals and the swiftness of the current, and because the banks of the river are not adapted for tracking. When the water is high, the difficulties are considered to be even greater than they were in April, the time of my visit. Above Mang-tsin-hien, the river is properly not navigable to the great bend (160 miles in an air line), because its bed is rocky and the current very strong. The journey is sometimes successfully performed with very small boats; but it is considered a daring undertaking; and as the boats are almost entirely dependent on the wind, they need a long time to go up stream, and carry no heavy cargo. All goods destined for the upper country are landed at Mang-tsin-hien, and continue their journey viâ Honan-fu, by land alone. I was told that, above the great bend, the Yellow River can again be navigated for a short distance, probably to the neighbourhood of the narrows of the Lung-men. But on the whole, we must arrive at the conclusion, that the Yellow River, though one of the largest rivers, scarcely deserves

* Lung-men-kou is situated 90 li northeast at Kaifungfu (Elias), just at the place where the New Yellow River leaves the old bed, and is said to be a shipping-place of little importance. It has already been indicated by Mr. Elias as the lower limit of navigation.

the epithet navigable, even though we do not possess any accurate researches beyond the limit of that portion of the stream which has become so well known by the admirable labours of Mr. Ney Elias.

Perhaps we would not be forced to so absolutely unfavourable a conclusion, if we were in possession of observations on the condition of the river, at high water. It is then, chiefly, the swiftness of the current which renders navigation difficult for native craft. And as this is not an impediment to steamers, there is a slight chance left, that for them the river may be navigable in the summer season, at least in portions of its course. But, on the other hand, it appears, that the rise of the river at the place where I crossed it is only a few feet, owing probably to the rapid descent of the water, the width of the river, and the flatness and ill-defined character of its northern bank. I believe that a rise of five feet, at that place, would allow the river to carry, past any given point, at least from ten to fifteen times the volume of water which flowed down in April.

I attempted, too, to collect some information in regard to the destructions caused by the Yellow River, above the point where its new course branches off from the old bed. It is the region adjoining the right bank, commencing from a place a few miles below the city of Sz'shui-hien, which is chiefly exposed to them. The last destructive flood, before 1868, took place 22 years ago, at Law-yang-hien, just opposite the place where the new river leaves the old bed through a break in its left bank. The flood of 1868 was caused by the rupture of the embankments between Ching-chau and Yung-tsi-hien, about 150 li above Kai-fung-fu. It recurred at the same place in 1869, in a far more destructive way. A region of about 200 li in length and about the same in breadth, comprising the districts of Ching-chau, Chung-mau-hien, Wei-shi hien, Tung-hü-hien, Ki-hien, and a portion of Chin-liu-hien, was then flooded. The water was shallow, and few lives were destroyed. But the lasting damage to the country is said to be enormous, because the inundated region was covered with sand, and the greater portion of it has been rendered unfit for the cultivation of grain. It is therefore evident, that the report of a connection existing between the waters of the Yellow River and those of the Yangtse, by way of the Sha-ho, Hwai-ho and the Grand Canal (if by no other channel) was well founded. But I was told by my informants, that the water on and near the bank of the Hwangho was so shallow as not to admit navigation from it to the southern waters. At present the connection does no longer exist, as the damaged embankments are said to have been completely repaired by the government, at an expense, as the mandarins relate, of two million taels.

The two places mentioned, and another which is 80 li above Kai-fung-fu, have been considered from of old as those which are most exposed to danger. The reason is, that the embankments are made of fine sand, and cannot easily be kept in repair.

6. *Coal regions South of the Yellow River.*

In going northwards from the Han river, the places where coal occurs increase gradually in number. It appears that no coal mines exist in all that country intermediate between the range of the Fu-niu-shan and the Yang-tse, from I-chang to Nan-king; and although it is probable that the members of the coal formation, which make up a portion of that country, are not completely destitute of coal, yet the absence of any known mines leaves but little prospect of finding any coal that would be worth extracting.

The first mines are met with on the southern slope of the Fu-niu-shan. I have mentioned, on another page, that they do not deserve much attention.

The *Coalfield of Lushan and Juchau* follows next. It is the only one known, between those of central Hunan and of Ping-yang fu in Shansi, which produces bituminous coal. I crossed it between the cities of Lu-shan-hien and Ju-chau. It forms here a plateau a few hundred feet high and 70 li broad, and is nicely defined by the valleys of the two rivers Sha-ho and Ju-ho, while beyond these are its geological boundaries, namely, the chain of the Fu-niu-shan to the south, and the high ranges of the Sungshan group to the north. Going east, its area diminishes in width as the two rivers converge, while to the west its boundaries are irregular and less clearly defined. It extends in that direction into the I-yang district, and probably beyond. The substructure of the plateau consists of limestone. The coal measures rest on it. Some portions of the coal district are full of disturbances, in others the stratification is quite regular. Coal is extracted in several places. There are a considerable number of workable coal beds, as can be distinctly seen in some ravines which are cut through and expose them to view. But the Chinese never do work more than one coalbed in one mine. They select, of course, that which is the most favourable as regards situation, thickness, and quality of coal. That which is worked most is from 6 to 8 feet thick. The coal is black, laminated, of uneven fracture, and brittle. It is a caking and coking coal of tolerable purity, though in some places containing much sulphuret of iron. Very little lump coal is produced, nearly all that comes out of the mines being nut and small. All coal which arrives at the surface is immediately delivered to contractors, who select first the large pieces and sell them at 100 *cash* per picul, and burn the rest to coke. This is sold at 240 *cash* per picul. As a few thousand small coke kilns are burning simultaneously at every mining place, and are attended to by a large number of workmen, these places have a busy and lively appearance, and are known from afar by the volumes of black smoke which are emitted. The coke is largely consumed in the vicinity, and carried in various directions, to within a distance of 150 li, by means of ox-carts which run on four cast-iron wheels, as before described.

In this district, the Chinese do not work their mines to advantage. The greatest depth at which they mine is 200 feet. Wherever the coalbeds sink to greater depth, their progress is checked. There would be no difficulty in finding more favourable places, where several coalbeds could be mined through one set of works, and probably much better and more solid coal would be extracted.

Much additional importance is imparted to the coalfield of Lushan, by the profuse occurrence of excellent clay iron ore in the coal-bearing strata. It was smelted during the time of the Ming dynasty, and numerous large piles of slags still bear witness to the great extent to which iron was manufactured. It appears that the troubles attending the accession of the new dynasty, caused the complete cessation of the manufactury of iron in this much exposed region, while it continued to flourish in the recesses of the mountains of Shansi. It did not revive afterwards; and, although the inhabitants know the iron ores well, they pretend to have completely lost the science of extracting the metal. The favourable geographical position of the Lushan district, renders it probable that it will still play an important part in providing a portion of China with iron.

Proceeding north, we enter the *coal region of Ho-nan-fu*. It joins the last immediately to the north, but differs from it, on geological grounds, and because all the coal in it is anthracite. The chief mining places are: 1st, Taupo, situated 100 li northwest of Ju-chau, and at the same distance south-southeast of Ho-nan-fu; 2nd, the Kingping-shan hills 錦屏山 of I-yang-hien 宜陽縣 100 li southwest of Honan-fu; the district must not be confounded with another I-Yang-hien 伊陽 belonging to Juchau, politically as well as in regard to its coalfields; 3rd, the hills south of Kung-hien, 130 li east of Honanfu. The extraction of coal in these various localities is considerable, and allows a very populous country to be well supplied with fuel. The thickness of the coal beds worked varies from 6 to 18 feet. Yet, I do not believe that this coal region equals that of Lushan and Juchau in prospective importance, because the position of the coal is irregular, and such as to suggest at once a plausible cause for the crumbled up condition in which the anthracite arrives at the pit's mouth.

These are all the coal regions of Honan south of the Hwang-ho that have come to my notice.

7. *The Loess of Northern China.*

It may not be out of place, before proceeding north of the Hwangho, to give a few explanatory notes, in regard to a formation which plays an immensely important part in the physical features and the economy of northern China, and which I shall have hereafter to mention on almost every page. Everyone who has walked in the vicinity of Chingkiang, on the Yangtse, will recollect the yellow hills which surround that city, and in which the Chingkiang branch of the grand canal is deeply cut. They consist of loess, which is there about 200 feet thick. The same formation composes a large portion of what is generally called the great plain, and it forms probably a broad belt, intervening between it and the surrounding hills. It appears not to exist in southern China or Szechuen, and is but little developed on the Yangtse above Nanking, and on the Han, but spreads over all the northern province, covering everything where it has not been carried away by water. In Shansi, I found it spread equally over table lands 6,000 feet high, and valleys several thousand feet less in altitude. Along my route through Honan, it composes the table land between Juchau and Honanfu, and envelopes on all sides the lower portion of the ranges of the Sung-shan. The bottom-land of the Loho is bounded on both sides by vertical cliffs of loess, and the same formation reaches on the southern side of the valley, to the height of more than 1,200 feet. The southern bank of the Yellow river consists entirely of loess. I did not undertake the journey from Honanfu to the great bend of that river, because I had sufficient reason to expect, positively, that I would find nearly the whole of that region consisting of rolling hills of loess.

The peculiar feature of this formation is, to spread alike over places which differ much in altitude, and, therefore, to fill the gaps between hills, to smoothe away the uneven surfaces of mountainous countries, and to create the conditions for agriculture and prosperity, where they would not exist without it. From descriptions given by Chinese, who apply the specific name of "hwang-tu" to the loess, it appears, that the same formation exists on a still grander scale in Shensi, making up the slopes of the broad valley of the Wei river, and the entire country of the Ordos; and it spreads, probably, as a cover of great thickness, far into Kansu and Central Asia. It is the loess which gives to the Hwangho its yellow colour. Large quantities of it are washed down from the hills by every rain, and are carried by the rivers into the plains, and ultimately into the sea. The sediments which constitute the great plain, and render the gulf of Pecheli and Yellow sea so shallow, are chiefly derived from the destruction of the cover of loess.

The loess is among the various substances which would commonly be called "loam," because it is earthy and has a brownish yellow colour. It can be rubbed between the fingers to an impalpable powder, which disappears in the pores of the skin, some grains of very fine sand only remaining. By mechanical destruction, such as is caused by cart-wheels on a road, it is converted into true loam. When in its original state, it has a certain solidity and is very porous, and perforated throughout its mass by thin tubes, which ramify like the roots of grass and have evidently their origin in the former existence of roots. They are incrustated with a film of carbonate of lime. Water, which forms pools on loam, enters therefore into loess, as into a sponge, and percolates it, without in the least converting it into a pulp or mud. The loess is everywhere full of organic remains, but I have never seen any other than land-shells, bones of land animals, and the numberless impressions of roots of plants. It is not stratified, but has a strong tendency to cleave along vertical planes. Therefore, wherever a river cuts into it, the loess abuts against it, or against its alluvial bottom-land, in vertical cliffs, which are in places 500 feet high; above them the slopes recede gradually, in a series of terraces with perpendicular front faces. Where the river washes the foot of such a wall, the progress of destruction is rapid; the cliff is undermined, and the loess breaks off in vertical sheets, which tumble into the stream, to be carried down by the water. Such is the case along the southern bank of the Yellow river near Kung-hien and Sz'shui-hien, and probably in many other portions of its course. The beds of the affluents which join the river in these places, are no less deeply cut into the loess, and ramify into its more

elevated portions like the roots of a tree, every small branch a steep and narrow gulch. It would lead us too far astray from the objects of this letter, to describe more in detail the exceedingly curious features which the scenery of a region composed of loess presents. Among the most noteworthy is this, that it gives habitation to many millions of human beings. You walk on the richly cultivated bottomland of a river, and yet do not see a single human dwelling. But as soon as you approach the precipitous wall of loess, on either side, you find it thronged with people like a bee-hive. They live in excavations made in the loess.

As regards the mode of origin of this formation, the loess of China, like that of Europe (where it exists on a comparatively small scale), has been supposed to be a freshwater deposit. This supposition is erroneous as regards the loess of northern China, because it extends equally over hills and valleys, and does not contain freshwater shells. Others have therefore considered it as a marine deposit. This view is more erroneous even than the former, because it would presuppose the whole of northern China to have been submerged at least 6,000 feet beneath the level of the sea, in a recent epoch, while there is abundant evidence to prove that such has not been the case. Nor can the theory current in Germany, that the loess of that country was produced by glacial action, be at all applied to the loess of northern China, from various obvious reasons, too lengthy to explain here. Unbiassed observation leads irresistibly to the conclusion, that the loess of China has been formed on dry land. The whole of that vast country which was covered by a continuous sheet of loess, before this had undergone destruction was one continuous prairie, probably of greater elevation above the sea than the same region is now. The loess is the residue of all inorganic matter of numberless generations of plants, that drew new supplies incessantly from those substances which ascending moisture and springs carried in solution to the surface. This slow accumulation of decayed matter was assisted by the sand and dust deposited through infinite ages, by winds. The land shells are distributed through the whole thickness of the loess, and their state of preservation is so perfect that they must have lived on the spot where we now find them. They certainly admit of no other explanation, than that here hinted at, of the formation of the soil in which they are imbedded. The bones of land animals, and chiefly the roots of plants, which are all preserved in their natural and original position, give corroborative evidence. This is not the place to carry these geological deductions further than I have done. I hope that what I have said, in regard to the loess, will contribute to direct the attention of travellers in northern China to this interesting formation, from the study of which we may expect valuable data for the knowledge of the condition of things in China, in prehistoric and early historic times.

The practical importance of the loess is based on some of its prominent properties. In the first place, it is a productive soil. If northern China had a more favourable climate, it would rank among the most productive countries in the world, on account of the general distribution of the loess. It is very probable that it did rank high in this respect, in early historic times, when the mountains were wooded and kept the climate moist. The entire surface of the loess is at present under cultivation. But owing to its property of being easily percolated by water, it needs more frequent and prolonged rains than most other kinds of soil, and if rain fails in time of sowing, then the tilled ground will be carried away by the winds, the seeds exposed to the sun and not germinate at all. I travelled for days through regions where such had been the case this year, and the otherwise fertile country had an extremely arid aspect. Another important property is the tendency to vertical cleaving. It creates the conditions for cheap dwellings, of which a large proportion of the population avail themselves. To it, too, is due the rapid progress of denudation. The rivers which carry away the loess separate it into its constituent parts, viz. the sand, the loam, and the carbonate of lime. The latter is probably carried in solution into the sea, while the very fine sand and the loam are separately re-deposited, creating, here an arid soil, and there, a fertility which exceeds that of the loess itself. The sandy regions prevail where the rivers emerge from the mountains, while the rich alluvial loam is carried to the lower country. It would be of interest to have a geological map of the great plain, with the formations of loess, sand, and alluvial loam marked separately.

8. *Region of Hwai-king-fu.*—

The northern bank of the Yellow River is flat, and in this region not protected by embankments, because the land rises slowly towards the north. After crossing a belt of fine sand, resulting from the deposition of the sandy component of the loess, and marking the extent of ordinary inundation, another kind of soil is reached, which is a sandy loam of moderate fertility. Then follows the region of Hwai-king-fu and Ching-wha, which is one of the most beautiful spots in the plains of China. It is a perfect garden, rendered park-like by numerous plantations of trees and shrubs, among which thick bosquets of bamboo contrast with gloomy groves of cypress. The picturesque outlines of the neighbouring Tai-hang-shan range form an admirable background. The soil is very fertile, being in fact a fine extract of loess, and well manured. The luxurious growth of the cereals recalls to mind the richest agricultural countries in Europe. Numerous streams of clear water descend from the Tai-hang-shan, and the inhabitants make the amplest use of them for irrigation. The density of the population surpasses belief; I do not recollect to have seen a more thickly settled region in China. In consequence, the extraordinary produce of the fields is but little more than sufficient to nourish its own growers, and the quantity of grain exported is small in proportion to what is raised.

The city of Hwai king-fu is large, but not the seat of much trade. It is far surpassed, in this respect, by the mart of Ching-wha-chin (清化鎮,) 35 li north-east, which is the great depôt for the coal from the neighbouring mines, for iron and coal from Tse chau-fu in Shan-si, for the varied produce of the plain, and for all goods imported from Tientsin via Tankou. The town is exceed-

ingly populous, and, to all appearance, a very large amount of small business is trans acted there. The main street is over a mile in length, and was thronged with four-wheeled and two-wheeled carts, wheel-barrows, coolies and pack animals, when I passed through it.

Wheat and barley are the staples of the agricultural produce of this plain. Both are sown in November and harvested in June. The second crop consists chiefly of millet. Neither cotton nor poppy are planted, and tobacco is raised only in small quantity. Besides grain and flour, the exports from Ching-wha consist of anthracite, iron castings, wrought iron, pig iron, pottery, bamboo ware, and fruit. Two other articles of export are peculiar to Hwaikingfu. One consists in steel ware, such as razors, scissors, knives, &c., for the manufacture of which Hwaikingfu is celebrated; the steel is imported from Wu-hu and Hankow. The other is a costly medicinal root, by the name of Ti-hwang (地黃,) which does not thrive in any other place in China, and is therefore exported in all directions of the compass. This Ti-hwang consists of dried bulbs of the size of potatoes, and is quite different from tai-hwang or rhubarb. It is sold at 850 *cash* per cattie, and the total quantity which is yearly exported is said to represent a value of from Tls. 800,000 to one million.

The trade of Chingwha takes various directions. There is a lively intercourse with a small shipping place on the Yellow River, at the distance of 70 li, whither anthracite, iron, and pottery are carried, to be shipped;—1st down the river, to Pien liang ching and Lungmenkou, whence they are distributed by land east and south, as we are informed by Mr. Elias; 2d. across the river to Sz'shiuhien, and then by land to Mi hien, Juchau, and Lushan hien; and 3rd, up the river to Mang-tsin-hien, Honanfu and the western country. Tobacco from Hupè, hemp and cotton go in return from the south to Ching-wha. The most important trade roads are, eastward to Sinwu-hien and Tankou-chin, and northward and northwestward to Shan-si. In regard to the latter, I will say a few words when treating on that province. Tan-kou takes a great portion of the mineral and metallurgical produce of Shansi, besides grain from Hwaikingfu, and sends, in return, the imports which it receives from Tientsin. The ratio in which foreign goods are represented among these is surprisingly small.

9.—*Mines of anthracite at foot of Tai-hang-shan.*

The name Tai-hang-shan (大行山), is the popular denomination for an apparent mountain range that is visible from the great plain, first to the north and then to the west, on the whole line of the high road from Hwaikingfu to Wei-hwui-fu, Shunte-fu, and Ching-ting-fu, a distance of about 1,200 li. I shall show on another page, that it is only the descent of the highlands of Shansi, and no real mountain range; but it affords another of those rare instances of the general use of a uniform denomination for a mountainous region of great extent in length. It is in use on Chinese maps, as well as with the people of the country.

The Tai-hang-shan slopes down into the plain of Hwaikingfu, along a nearly straight line. At several places, a belt of low hills intervenes between the foot of the mountains and the plain. They are the seat of the important coal mines of the Tai-hang-shan, as they are called by the Chinese. The westernmost mines I know of are in the district of Tsi-yuen-hien, the easternmost near Sin-wu-hien. These two places are about 150 li apart. Between both are the best of the range. The coal which is mined in these is the same excellent kind of anthracite that is characteristic of eastern Shansi—clean, very lustrous and solid. The mines of Ching-wha are far more favorably situated than those of Shansi, but on the other hand the coal mines of this province offer more facilities for extraction, and the anthracite which they yield is slightly superior in quality to that of Ching-wha.

The coal district of Chingwha is about twenty li long and five li broad. The number of mines which are worked was given to me as about one hundred, and this figure is probably not far from the truth. The remnants of worked out or otherwise abandoned mines, are far more numerous. There are places where twelve or fifteen shafts are in close vicinity to each other. One can easily account for this want of a uniform system of working, if it is considered that the size of mining property varies from ten to forty *mow*. All mining is done on one coalbed only, which varies in thickness from 4 to 30 feet, and averages probably more than 12 feet. Work is done through vertical pits, which are from 120 to 400 feet deep; their shape is cylindrical, with a diameter of five feet. The sides are secured by wicker-work. A large windlass, turned by eight men, serves for hoisting; the coal is raised in baskets containing 120 to 130 catties each. At the ten largest mines, the daily extraction of coal is said to be 1,000 baskets, or 70 tons at each. As this figure allows an interval of three minutes between the raising of every two baskets, and the speed of extraction was rather greater during my presence, I have no reason to doubt the veracity of the statement. I may here remark, that I found the people of this region in general remarkably truthful in answering questions. It is difficult to estimate the quantity of coal which is yearly extracted from the mines of this district, as the scale of work diminishes and increases, according to the number of hands required for field-work at the diferent seasons. From 200,000 to 300,000 tons annually, is probably not far from the actual produce. I do not know of any other mining region of equal size, in China, where this figure is attained. The reason is, that the coal, without any noteworthy competition, finds a ready market, firstly for domestic use in the populous region of Hwai-king-fu; secondly, along the Yellow River; and thirdly, along the Wei-river below Sinwu and Tankow. The selling price at the mine is 100 *cash* per picul for ordinary coal, and 150 *cash* for the largest lumps, of several cubic feet in size. At Chingwha, 28 li from the mines of Lifang, which are the most productive of the district, the selling price is 250 *cash* per picul; on the Hwangho, 100 li from the mines, it is 500 *cash*; this is the price, too, at Suwu-hien, the head of navigation of the Wei-ho. If the mines were worked by steam-power and connected with Sinwu by

a tramway, then the anthracite of the Tai-hang-shan might be delivered cheap enough at Tientsin, to compete with that from Fang-shan-hien near Peking, to which it is superior in quality.

The area covered by the present openings in the several districts of the Taihang-shan is of inconsiderable extent. Those districts are few and wide apart. But the unity in structure of the belt which they constitute together, along the foot of the mountains, renders it probable that the coal-measures continue under the surface deposits of the plain, not alone throughout that belt, but also in the direction of the Yellow River. The present explorations, which have in some instances reached the plain, confirm this conclusion. But as the coalbed sinks here to greater depth, and as at 400 feet below the surface too much water is encountered to allow the Chinese to proceed any further, these portions of the coalfield will be reserved till such time as more perfect methods of mining and intercommunication are introduced. The coalfield under consideration is now the most important on the western borders of the great plain; but it is destined to occupy a much superior position in the future.

10. *The Gate of Central Asia.*—

I have dwelt at some length on the vicinity of Ju-chau, Honanfu and Hwaikingfu, believing that it is a region destined to be of great importance in the future commercial relations with more remote countries. Considered for itself alone, it may claim some attention. It is exceedingly populous, and, although the people have few wants beyond those which they are able to satisfy by their own labour and from the produce of their own fields, yet the supply even of these wants is a basis for no inconsiderable trade, where so many millions of people are concerned. It is also rich in agricultural and mineral productions, and although it furnishes no article of export to foreign commerce, the money which the people are able to earn will eventually buy foreign goods, and any stimulus which is given to an increased production (chiefly of minerals) will be in the end beneficial to foreign commerce.

The great prospective importance, however, of the region under consideration, is founded on its geographical position. The passage of Honanfu is the only future gate to the northwestern provinces and Central Asia, from the east. It does not occupy this position at present, nor will it ever do so before rail-roads shall be built. I hesitate to touch this subject, which to many appears visionary, though probably no foreign resident in China entertains doubt as to the necessity that railroads should, and the certainty that in the course of time they will, be built. But if one speaks of the possible means that may be devised, to raise to their true value the resources of northern China, one cannot avoid this question; and if anywhere in China it is here, in the region of Honanfu, where the introduction of modern means of conveyance suggests itself as a step which will be attended with an incalculable change of conditions. If one has travelled for some time in the southern and central provinces, where communication by water allows of a slow but cheap transportation of goods from the seaports to distant regions, and valuable articles of export converge from remote provinces to these same ports, and if one enters then the northern provinces, where the only existing communication by water admits of the carriage of goods from the seaports to a few marts situated some hundred miles nearer to the regions which are to be supplied, all the other conveyance having to be done by the most imperfect means, then one is fully aware of the great disadvantages under which these northern provinces labour. I have already remarked, that freight by land is from twenty to forty times more expensive then it is by water. Prices increase therefore rapidly with the distance from the places of supply, and commercial intercourse does not rise beyond its lowest possible limit.

This is one of the reasons why the importance of the northwestern provinces is usually underrated. Shansi is the only one of them which I have seen. I will speak more fully in regard to it in the course of this letter. The province of Shensi is considered by the Chinese as a sort of Eden, as a land of plenty, where one good crop furnishes sufficient food to last during ten successive bad years, an adage which characterizes perfectly the condition of things, expressing as it does, that superabundance does not much benefit the country unless followed by scarcity, because there is no means of disposing of the surplus. As regards the province of Kansu, it appears to be far more productive than is ordinarily supposed. The city of Su-chau-fu, for instance, is situated, according to our maps, in the deserts of Central Asia. Yet I met an individual from the fertile province of Honan, who had emigrated ten years ago, to farm land near Suchaufu, and professed to have succeeded well, until he was driven back by the rebels, a few months ago. He described that whole portion of the province of Kansu, through which he had passed, as generally fertile. Similar statements, though not with reference to distinct regions, were given to me by others.

The only noteworthy articles of export, from Shensi and Kansu to other provinces, appear to be medicines and opium, both of them articles which, on account of their high commercial value, are almost independent of the state of the means of inter-communication. There is nothing which would so much counterbalance the injury done to foreign commerce, by the sale of a highly esteemed quality of opium, than to put foreign manufactures and other imports within easy reach of the growers of that opium. The only practicable means of easy and cheap ingress to those regions, and through them to others far more remote, will be a railroad by way of the Honanfu passage. The physical features of eastern China allow only of this one and no other passage. There is no one possible farther south, nor any to the north, excepting, perhaps, one through Siuen-hwa-fu and southern Mongolia, which would, however, go through thinly inhabited and almost unproductive regions. Attention should therefore be concentrated on the Honanfu passage. The two coalfields which I mentioned, north and south of the Yellow River, will eventually be of great importance. There will probably be, in future, one railroad from the southeast, approaching the Yellow River by way of the coal-field of Juchau, and continuing south of the river to Shensi; while another, from the northeast, will receive its supply of coal in passing the coalfield of the Tai-hang-shan, and cross the Yellow River in the vicinity of Hwai-king-fu. Both would pass altogether

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I said that, with the condition of the present roads, Honanfu does not occupy the position of a key to the northwestern province. Shensi and Kansu are chiefly supplied from Hankow directly, via Lao-ho-kou. Besides, they are frequently approached by travellers from Peking via Shansi. Few goods and travellers enter Shensi by way of Honanfu, though, as I have already noted, there is a considerable local traffic between that place and Shensi, consisting chiefly in cotton raised in the vicinity of Honanfu, and iron from Tsechaufu, in Shansi.

There is considerable room for an increase of the productions of the northwestern provinces, chiefly on account of the general distribution of coal, and probably of iron ore, through them. The present profits of the manufacturer of iron in Shansi are very small, owing to the great increase in price that attends the conveyance of the iron even to the next marts. If this price is reduced, the manufacture of iron, though already large, will vastly increase. The trade in coal, for domestic use, will attain very large dimensions, when it shall be possible to put good coal within reach of many millions of people that are now without it.

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On my arrival at Hwaikingfu, I learned that the road marked on European maps as connecting that city with Pingyangfu, in Shansi, is a bridle path, and that no waggon road leads into and through Shansi, excepting the great highway from Peking to Si-ngan-fu, which enters Shansi west of Chingtingfu, and leaves the province at the Tungkwan, on the great bend of the Yellow River. As the journey by way of the Tungkwan did not promise any results of importance, I dismissed my carts, though they were paid nearly to Peking, and hired pack and riding mules, with which I performed a journey of 34 days to Peking. I would advise all travellers who should hereafter desire to visit Shansi, to travel on horseback, as the cartroads are in a dreadful condition, and waggons can scarcely at all go off the great monotonous beaten track.

There are two trade roads from Hwai-kingfu into Shansi, one by Tsechaufu to Lu-ngan-fu, and thence by Tsin-chau to Tai-yuen-fu; the other by Tsi-yuen-hien, Yang-ching-hien, Tsin-shui-hien, I-ching-hien, to Pingyangfu. I followed the first of these roads into the department of Tsechaufu, and then went westward, on small mountain paths, to Tsin-shui-hien, where I struck the second road.

1*st*. *General structure of the southern half of Shansi.*—

The instances are very rare when the geologist has occasion to get, on a tour of hasty reconnaissance, as clear a conception of the structure of an extensive mountainous country, as he is enabled to get in regard to the southern half of Shansi, from the Hwangho to beyond Tai-yuen-fu, an area of about 30,000 square miles. There is such a grand simplicity in this structure, that I cannot refrain from attempting to give you a sketch of its general outlines; it is, also, indispensable to known something of the geology of Shansi, in order to understand what I shall have to say in regard to its mineral wealth.

The plain of Hwaikingfu is bounded to the north by what, from there, appears to be a mountain range, straight as a wall, steep, castellated on the top, and elevated about two thousand feet above the level of the plain. Its foot consists, in places, of the coal-measures, as I have described. The wall itself is limestone, nearly horizontally stratified. On reaching its summit, one is surprised to see spread out an undulating table-land, varying in altitude from 2,500 to 3,000 feet* above the plain. The surface of this plateau consists of the *coalbearing strata*, which overlie conformably the limestone. I will presently describe it as "the coal and iron region of Tsechaufu." Leaving out of consideration some slight irregularities, the stratification is in the main horizontal. About forty miles from the margin of the plateau, one arrives at a second rise, and ascends to another plateau, nearly 6,000 feet above the level of the sea, and 5,000 above that of the plain of Hwai-kingfu. This plateau is built up of post-carboniferous strata, which consist of a series of sandstones, shales, conglomerates, &c., of green, red, yellow, lilac, and brown colours.

As they are conformably superposed on the coalbearing strata and the limestone, it can be said with almost absolute certainty, that both of these continue underneath the post-carboniferous, nearly or quite as far as this formation extends. The surface of the second plateau appears undulating, when overlooked from a high point, but in fact it is deeply eroded by many ramified watercourses, which constitute the system of the Tsin river. The erosion is here generally not deep enough to bring to view the coalbearing strata. In a few places only, belonging to the district of Yang-ching-hien, they are exposed in the bottom of the valleys, and give origin to considerable coal and iron mining. The second plateau is about 170 li broad, where I passed over it. I left it by the famous Wu-ling pass which is about 5,000 feet high. Here begins a long and gradual descent westward, to the valley of Ping-yang-fu. Beyond it, the ground rises again, and a continuation of the Tsin river plateau is reached, extending between the Fuen river and the north and south reach of the Yellow River. The margin of the plateau, at the Wu-ling pass, trends about N. N. E.—S. S. W; the descent to the west though gradual in the main, is interrupted in some places by steep gorges. In these, as you may infer from the structure of the plateau, you descend rapidly through the whole series of post-carboniferous, down into the coalbearing strata. The sides of some of the gorges are therefore lined with coal-mines. They constitute the mining districts of I-ching-hien and Fau-shan-hien.

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As they are conformably superposed on the coalbearing strata and the limestone, it can be said with almost absolute certainty, that both of these continue underneath the post-carboniferous, nearly or quite as far as this formation extends. The surface of the second plateau appears undulating, when overlooked from a high point, but in fact it is deeply eroded by many ramified watercourses, which constitute the system of the Tsin river. The erosion is here generally not deep enough to bring to view the coalbearing strata. In a few places only, belonging to the district of Yang-ching-hien, they are exposed in the bottom of the valleys, and give origin to considerable coal and iron mining. The second plateau is about 170 li broad, where I passed over it. I left it by the famous Wu-ling pass which is about 5,000 feet high. Here begins a long and gradual descent westward, to the valley of Ping-yang-fu. Beyond it, the ground rises again, and a continuation of the Tsin river plateau is reached, extending between the Fuen river and the north and south reach of the Yellow River. The margin of the plateau, at the Wu-ling pass, trends about N. N. E.—S. S. W; the descent to the west though gradual in the main, is interrupted in some places by steep gorges. In these, as you may infer from the structure of the plateau, you descend rapidly through the whole series of post-carboniferous, down into the coalbearing strata. The sides of some of the gorges are therefore lined with coal-mines. They constitute the mining districts of I-ching-hien and Fau-shan-hien.

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In the broad valley of Ping-yang-fu, the loess conceals nearly everything. A few hills only, situated southeast of the city, protrude above the monotonous yellow cover. They are of particular interest. Their geological structure proves them to be the southern continuation of the high range of the Ho-shan (霍山), which has summits of about 8,000 feet altitude, and runs parallel to the Fuen river, about thirty miles east of it. This is the only mountain range I came across, on my route through southern Shansi, that consists of ancient me tamorphic rocks and granite; it may, not inappropriately, be called the backbone of that region. It is chiefly remarkable as dividing a region of bituminous coal to the west, from one of anthracite to the east. The strata are similarly developed on both sides, but on one side they carry a great number of beds of bituminous coal, and no anthracite at all, while on the other, they contain only beds of anthracite, among which there is at least one of great thickness, while bituminous coal is here completely absent.

The range of the Ho-shan has existed before the deposition of the coal measures. It has therefore not exerted any other material influence on them besides the very curious one just mentioned. On the western side, as on the eastern, the limestone, coalbearing strata and carboniferous are, in the main, horizontally and conformably stratified, and the minute differences in the sequence of the strata are slight. In the department of Ping-yang-fu, the division is already conspicuous. The hills west of the Fuen river (belonging to the districts of Tai-ping-hien, Lin-fan-hien, Hung-tung-hien and Shau-ching-hien) are full of bituminous coal; while those to the east, which lie also east of the dividing line mentioned, yield anthracite (districts of Iching-hien, Fan-shan-hien, Yo-yang-hien.) Proceeding northward, to Ho-chau and Tai-yuen-fu, one remains altogether west of the Ho-shan range; consequently, none but bituminous coal is seen. The Fuen-ho and its affluents are here cut extensively, through the cover of loess, into the coalbearing strata. Mining localities are therefore very numerous. The hills to the west, north, and south of the plain of Tai-yuen-fu consist of the same coalbearing strata, covered by the post-carboniferous, with nearly horizontal stratification throughout. It is probable that these same formations and this same structure continue unaltered to the north, perhaps as far as the mining districts of Ta-tung-fu. Leaving the plain of Tai-yuen-fu, which has an altitude of about 3,000 feet, on its eastern side, and crossing the watershed between Hwang-ho and Pei-ho at Shau-yang-hien, all the hills around consist of post-carboniferous strata. The pass is about 5,000 feet high. The hills present the same appearance as those of the second plateau in the Tsin-river basin, of which they are the direct continuation, viz., an undulating plateau of about 6000 feet elevation, and deeply intersected by the ramified watercourses. At or near the pass, the imaginary line of continuation of the Hoshan range is crossed. East of the pass, the road descends into lower and lower strata of the post-carboniferous, and in the district of Ting-ting-chau reaches again the coalbearing strata, which here carry anthracite.

In this region, the belt of coal-croppings, which is the direct continuation of the first plateau of Tse-chau-fu, is narrow. Going east, the limestone is soon reached. Now only begins, geologically speaking, the eastern descent of the plateau of Shansi. From Hwai-king-fu, through the centre of Shansi, to Ping-ting-chau, the province presents the spectacle of an extraordinary simplicity of structure. This ends with the coal and iron district of Ping-ting-chau. East of it, considerable disturbances have left their traces in dislocations of the lime stone, and the coalmeasures take part in them. The road passes through a picturesque defile of narrow gorges, cut deep and steep into the limestone. Between them there is now and then a piece of undulating ground. It marks the existence of an isolated remnant of the coal formation, and there are some mines in nearly every one of these places. But with the regularity of stratification the good quality of the coal is gone. Although, in the beautiful valley of Tsing-king-hien, the coal formation occupies once more a considerable space, the fact that trains of donkeys, loaded with anthracite from Ping-ting-chau (130 li west), and bound for the plains, are constantly passing Tsing-king-hien, gives ample evidence of the great superiority of the fuel from the former place.

Before arriving at the plain, one has still to cross a range of high and rugged mountains, which is of great interest. It consists of certain strata of Silurian age, which play an important part in the geology of northern China, but which I had not met before in Shansi. They cause the serrated outlines and highly picturesque character peculiar to the "western mountains" as seen from the plain between Peking and Ching-ting-fu, and probably as far south as Chang-te-fu.

Reviewing the main features of the geology of southern Shansi, we have then:—1st, a rugged eastern barrier, made up of ancient formations; 2nd, a general substructure of limestone, in regular and little disturbed stratification. If all the superincumbent strata were removed, it would present the appearance of a nearly level plateau with more or less steep descents, varying in altitude from 2,000 to 3,000 feet, and interrupted only by, 3rd, the granitic and metamorphic Hoshan range; 4th, a system of coalbearing strata, about 500 feet in thickness, covering the plateau of limestone, carrying bituminous coal west of the Hoshan, anthracite east of it, and everywhere a large quantity of iron ore; 5th, the post-carboniferous strata, about 3,000 feet thick, and not containing any useful minerals. If no erosion had taken place, its surface would be a nearly level plateau of about 6000 feet altitude. But we have, 6th, the marks of a considerable eroding and denuding action, which has carried away the post-carboniferous from large areas, but has left it in its original position in others of still greater extent. Where it exists, it forms undulating highlands, intersected by deeply cut watercourses; where it is removed, the coal formation is laid bare, and in places even this is washed off and the limestone floor exposed. 7th, A general cover of loess spread over hills and valleys, and covering the highest plateaux as well; it borders the great plain. It is intersected by labyrinthic watercourses, most of which are cut through loess into the underlying formation.

From the description of these simple features, it will be seen that Shansi is one of the most remarkable coal and iron regions in the world; and some of the details which I will give will make it patent, that the world, at the present rate of consumption of coal, could be supplied for thousands

of years from Shansi alone. Professor Dana, in comparing the proportions in which, in different countries, the area of the coal land is to the total area, says :—"The State of Pennsylvania leads the world, its area of 43,960 square miles embracing 20,000 of coal land." It is very probable that, on closer examination, the province of Shansi in China, with an area of about 55,000 square miles, will take the palm from Pennsylvania, by a considerably more favourable proportion. But this is not yet all the advantage on the side of the Chinese coalfield. Another is afforded in the ease and cheapness with which coal can be extracted on a large scale.

On the other hand, the whole of this great coal and iron region labours under two great disadvantages. Firstly, it is situated a distance away from the coast, and from rivers that are fit for other navigation than by small Chinese boats ; and secondly, the whole of the coal formation rests, as it were, on a platform raised a few thousand feet above the adjoining plain. Its steep descent to the latter will not form an obstacle, but at least offer great difficulties, to the construction of a railroad, which will be the only means of ever bringing to account the mineral wealth of Shansi.

I will now enter into some details, which may serve as illustrations to the foregoing general remarks.

2. *Ascent from Hwai-king-fu to the first plateau.—*

Both roads which I have mentioned climb the Tai-hang-shan, that is, the descent of the first plateau, in steep places. That to Tse-chau-fu is a bridle path, from fifteen to twenty feet wide, well paved and kept in repair, and probably of great antiquity. It is lined with tea-houses and restaurants, and on the plateau there are many villages on its side. Of all roads I have seen in China, there are few where a carrying trade is done equal to what it is on this one. From the number of coolies, mules and donkeys which I met, I calculated that no less than 150, and probably as much as 300, tons of freight are carried daily over this road from north to south. Of this amount there are about 60 per centum of iron, 30 of anthracite, the rest, of ten per centum, consisting of various articles, such as Kauliang brandy, camels hair, certain descriptions of pottery, medicine etc. Most men and animals return empty, others carry flour, various kinds of grain, cotton cloth, bamboo ware, etc. I saw a train of mules laden with Chinese cotton goods, that were manufactured at Tien-men near Hankow, shipped from there to Shï-ki-chin, and were now destined for Tai-yuen-fu, where they appear to compete successfully with foreign manufactures imported by way of Tientsin.

It appears that there is not a single waggon road from the plain up to the first plateau, excepting the Peking Tai-yuen-fu high-road. Of the bridle-paths, none follows the course of a river. Those streams which descend into the plain, at Hwai-king-fu, as well as at Ching-ting-fu, break through steep and rocky gorges of limestone where they issue from the first plateau, and this is probably the nature of all of them along the whole extent of the margin of the plateau. As the knowledge of the Chinese of the construction of roads does hardly embrace the first principles of this branch of engineering, and as they possess neither skill nor energy in removing obstacles, but are endowed with an infinite amount of patience in overcoming the same natural difficulties day by day, they have never attempted to improve their means of communication with Shansi.

3. *Coal and iron region of Tse-chau-fu.—*

This mining region constitutes what I have called the first plateau. It is more favourably situated in relation to the plains than any other portion of Shansi, and has probably furnished more iron to the Chinese than any other region of similar extent in the Empire. Its vicinity to the populous plain of Hwai-king-fu, to the Hwang-ho, to Tankow (道口鎮) and Siu-wu-hien (the shipping places for Tientsin and the Grand Canal), and to Honan-fu, may have made it a market for the iron in old times. The occurrence of temples built by the dynasties which resided at Honan-fu, and situated near the present roads of traffic, renders it probable that the iron industry flourished here more than a thousand years ago. The same methods for getting the metals out of the ores were probably then applied which I witnessed on my visit. They bear the character of nearly all Chinese industry : rude, petty in the extreme, and yet remarkably perfect. If one encounters on the road, incessantly, trains of mules and men, laden with ironware of the most varied description, one is prepared to see the metal manufactured on a somewhat large scale ; and it is surprising, on arrival at the spot, to see hundreds of small establishments, between which the labour is divided, each of them manufacturing a certain set of articles, for which they may have gained a reputation.

Iron ores occur abundantly in several strata of the coal formation. The Chinese apply only one kind of it, which melts easily without the addition of any flux. It consists of a mixture of clay iron ore and spathic ore, together with limonite and hematite, and occurs in irregular accumulations in certain limestone strata, at the bottom of the coal formation. Tai-yang-chin, 60 li northwest of Tse-chau-fu, and Kau-ping-hien, are the only places where all the iron produced in the district is melted from the ores. Nothing at all approaching in appearance a European high furnace is in use. The smelting place is an inclined plane, eight feet long and five feet wide. It is enclosed on the two long sides by loam walls four feet high, the third side and the top are open, and on the fourth side it joins a small and low hut which contains the wooden bellows and the two men who pull it. The floor is covered with a layer of pieces of anthracite of the size of a fist. Upon this are put about 150 crucibles of fireclay, 15 inches high and 6 inches wide, containing a mixture of small pieces of anthracite with crushed iron ore. All spaces between them are carefully filled with anthracite, and another layer of pieces of this fuel put on the top. In other regions, the smelting places are 15 by 5 feet, and contain 300 crucibles, the charge is then ready for igniting. At Taiyang, a second layer of 150 crucibles, is put on the top of it ; this is again covered with anthracite, and finally with a layer of old crucibles. This pile is now ignited, and air blown in ; when the heat is

strong enough the blast is stopped, the air which gets access through the spaces between the pieces of glowing anthracite being sufficient to keep up the heat. Two kinds of pig-iron are produced, one for making castings, the other to be converted into wrought iron. In the former case, the crucibles are taken out when the heat is strongest, and the iron poured out on a flat bottom, so as to form thin sheets. This is a white, hard cast-iron of apparently great purity. For the second purpose, the pile is left to glow and cool for four days. Then the crucibles are taken out and destroyed. The iron has collected in each in a single semi-globular piece. The pigs from Kauping are carried to various places in Lu-ngan-fu, those from Taipang to Nan-tswun, ten li west of Tse-chau-fu. The foundries at this place, for making cast-iron ware, are exactly the same kind of smelting places which I have described of Tai-yang. For the manufacture of different articles, different mixtures of pig-iron are used. The rapidly cooled flat sheets are most applied. For certain articles, the slowly cooled semi-globular pieces are added in varying proportion; while for others still, a third kind of pig-iron is added, which appears to be produced by pouring molten iron in water, so as to form drops, which are very hard and brittle. It is probable that the known excellence of Shansi iron ware is partly due to the application of these mixtures, in proportions which are the result of long experience, and that the particular fame enjoyed by certain brands is owing to trifling differences in manipulation, of which certain individuals are in possession. There are other establishments at Nan-tswun for the manufacture of wrought iron, which is only made of the semi-globular pigs. I will not tire you with a further description of the processes used. They are as rude and simple in this as in the first case, and yet the material produced is of such superior quality, that the Chinese prefer the Shansi wrought iron to the imported European, if the prices of both are equal. Not any steel is made in Shansi. All that is used is imported from Wuhu and Hankow. To work it up into small articles of use, Shansi iron is added to it. All manufacturing of this kind is done by single workmen, at their homes. The same is the case in regard to many other articles. At Tai-yang, for instance, a large amount of iron wire and needles is made. I could not see how this is done, because I would have had to enter private houses where the whole family is at work.

Castings and wrought iron are both sold, at Nan-tswun, at 20 *cash* per catty. Nearly all of it is carried to Chingwha, which is the great depôt. The distance to that place is 100 li.

Tai-yang and Nan-tswun are both situated in Fung-tai-hien, which is the city district of Tse-chau-fu. The name of Fung-tai iron or Fung iron is therefore locally used for all iron from the district. The more common trade name is Lu iron. It is derived from the departmental city of Lu-ngan-fu, to which Tse-chau-fu was formerly subordinate. The only other district in Tse-chau-fu where iron is made is Yang-ching-hien, but this yields a far less quantity.

It is evident, that the great success which the iron manufacturers of Tse-chau-fu attain, by application of the apparently rudest methods, must be due, in a great measure, to the superiority of material they apply. It is the few hundred feet of productive coal formation, which furnishes them an abundance of every kind of material they require—firstly, an iron of great purity, rich in metal and easily fusible; secondly, all sorts of clay and sand, such as are required for crucibles, moulds etc.; thirdly, a very superior anthracite.

Anthracite is mined in many places of Fung-tai-hien, Ling-chuen-hien, Kau-ping-hien, Yang-ching-hien. The only district of Tse-chau-fu that contains no mines is Tsin-shui-hien, for the reason that the watercourses are not cut deep enough through the post-carboniferous to expose the coal formation. The first mines which I had occasion to examine are in the Ching-pu-shan, about 100 li north-northwest of Ching-wha. The coalbed is slightly inclined, and has a scarcely perceptible thickness where it crops out on the hill-side. The works consist in a very crooked tunnel which follows the coalbed. At a few hundred feet distance from the entrance, the thickness of the coal increases 20 to and 30 feet. It appeared to me that nearly all the mines of the department are worked on this same bed, which ranges in thickness everywhere between 12 and 30 feet. The anthracite is of black colour, of large conchoidal fracture, very lustrous, very clean (it does not blacken the fingers by handling), and has a great firmness. Two-thirds of the yield reach the surface in pieces of at least one cubic foot in size, and the rest consists mostly in smaller but solid pieces. The lumps are sold at 40 to 50 *cash* per picul. The rest is taken away in baskets by children, for domestic use. They fill their two baskets and pay two *cash* for each, which is at the rate of 10 *cash* per picul. The lump coal is carried to Chingwha, where it is sold at 400 *cash* per picul; that is, at the distance of 100 li, about tenfold the price paid at the mine. The reason that this anthracite sells readily at that price, when Tai-hang-shan coal is only worth 250 *cash*, is that its greater solidity allows of a more convenient transportation of the lumps to distant places. In all other respects these two kinds of anthracite are nearly alike. They give out an intense heat and keep it for a long time. The residue is a small amount of fine and perfectly white ash. The coal gives scarcely any sulphurous smell in burning; the only noticeable impurity consisting in a few earthy streaks, varying in thickness from that of a knife-blade to an inch. It burns to a light white clinker.

The other mine of Tse-chau-fu has the advantage of a market such as Ching-wha. But several are situated in the neighbourhood of ironworks, which, of course, consume a large quantity of coal. In most instances, however, there is nothing to supply but the domestic wants of the people living within a few miles of the mine. Competition is therefore great, and there are several mines, where the finest anthracite, apparently fully equal to the best of Pennsylvania, is sold at ten *cash* per picul, or thirteen cents per ton of 1,600 catties; all of it lumps of several cubic feet in size.

The mining of coal, the manufacturing of iron, and the conveying of both to market employ a large number of men and animals. But notwithstanding its ample resources the country is poor. The profits are reduced to a minimum. Coal mines are of so little value, that legal conceptions, such as right, title and property, do not apply underground. Whoever wants to mine can do so. He makes a tunnel or sinks a shaft, at any place which is not occupied already by a mine, and

extracts as much anthracite as he can profitably sell from this extraordinary coalbed of thirty feet in thickness. Some mines are said to have been worked for hundreds of years. The expenses are small, as all the mines are perfectly dry, even those which are worked by shafts of 300 feet in depth. Underground miners, who receive elsewhere 200 to 300 cash a day, must here content themselves with wages of 100 cash. Yet the owners of mines are poor people. There have evidently been better times in this region, as one is justified in concluding from the great number of houses built with luxury, and richly adorned with fine work of sculpture. It is possible that the introduction of foreign wrought iron, into those districts which are accessible by water from the Treaty ports, has greatly reduced the amount of sale and total production of Shansi iron, and that the desire to supply as many as possible of the former markets has tended to reduce the original price of the iron, and consequently the profits of the manufacturer.

The road from Tse-chau-fu northward to Lu-ngan-fu is said to be easy, and passable by small four-wheeled oxcarts, which are much in use for the local traffic on the first plateau. I went westward, across the second plateau, through a poverty-stricken country whose inhabitants were nearly starving. The bottom of the steep gorges of the Tsin river is mostly covered with a profusion of boulders of hard sandstone, and very little room is left for irrigable land. Nearly all the cultivated ground is on the loess, which covers the heights partly at analtitude of from 5,000 to 6,000 feet. The crops there have been a failure during several successive years. And yet, the only fields which would give two safe crops in the year, those namely which are in the bottom of the valleys, are almost throughout planted with the poppy. The opium made from it is of an inferior description, and nearly all consumed by the inhabitants themselves, who are much addicted to this vice. They appear to have lost all energy, and bear their sufferings patiently, as long as they can fill their opium-pipe. These are the hardy mountaineers of China. I may mention, as a matter of curiosity, that there are some mulberry tree plantations in these elevated regions, up to the altitude of nearly 5,000 feet; a trifling quantity of silk is made.

4th. *Valley of Ping-yang-fu.*

The large city of Pingyangfu is situated in the valley of the Fuen river, which here expands to a broad basin with gentle declivities, and has all the elements of great productiveness, provided that the climate contributes in but a moderate degree to this result. With the exception of the rich loamy bottomland on the river, the soil consists of loess. On the eastern side, it slopes down, at the rate of 2 feet to 100 feet, from the altitude of 5000 and even 6000 feet to that of 2000 feet, which is approximately the elevation of Pingyangfu above the level of the sea. Travelling from east to west, one descends this gentle slope for one hundred li; but travelling from south to north is difficult, as the loess is intersected by gorges of from 1000 to 2000 feet in depth, which descend to the Fuen-ho. Looking upwards, their steep ramifications into the loess are endless and labyrinthic. Their bottom is partly cut into the underlying formations, which consist, in some of them, of the coal measures. The gentle slope of the loess is thus divided into a number of east and west ribs. Many villages are built on the top of them, and some are located in the bottom of the gorges. In these, too, are the anthracite mines of I-ching-hien, Fau-shan-hien, and Yo-yang-hien, where work is done under similar conditions, and prices have a similar range, (10 to 30 cash per picul, or 13 to 40 cents per ton) as in the mines of Tse-chau-fu.

West of the Fuen-ho, the gentle ascent of the loess is soon interrupted by walls of horizontally stratified limestone. Here is one of the great dislocations in the regular structure of Shansi. It trends from south to north. Adjoining the line of dislocation immediately to the east, are the mines of bituminous coal of Tai-ping-hien, Lin-fan-hien, and Hung-tung-hien. West of it, the limestone, which gives rise to some magnificent scenery, and is exposed in a thickness of about 1500 feet, is again regularly overlain by the coal formation. The latter forms an undulating plateau, about 4000 feet high, and is intersected by watercourses, which have exposed to view fine cross sections of the coal formation. It encloses here a great number of coalbeds, from a few inches to six feet in thickness. The mines belong to the districts of Shau-tshing-hien, Pu-hien, and Fan-si-hien. Their produce is almost valueless, and would be completely so if free competition was allowed. But the districts of supply are limited by law for every mining locality.

Iron ore occurs abundantly in the coal measures surrounding the valley of Ping-yang-fu, but it is not put to any use, as there would be no market for iron from this region. Mr. Williamson makes mention of iron foundries in Tai-ping-hien, but it is only old iron, which is there remelted with the coke of the district.

With the exception of paper and straw braid, Ping-yang-fu produces no articles for exportation. A small amount of cotton is planted, but not sufficient for home consumption, and some is imported from Honanfu. The grain produce must be large in favourable years. But the crops have been bad for three years past, and the sufferings of the people are great. Nearly all southern and foreign imports are taken from Tientsin. Freight from that place is 60 cash per cattie. Luxuries, such as sugar, tea, and rice, are therefore scarcely known. I was informed that the market for foreign manufactures is very limited. Yet the total of imported goods is considerable; and I am at a loss to explain, in regard to Shansi in general, but chiefly in respect to Ping-yang-fu, by what means the balance of trade is kept up. Iron and coal, besides a little pottery and paper, are the only exports from Shansi worth mentioning. They are exclusively supplied by certain eastern districts that are conveniently situated. It is likely, that these yield up a portion of their profits to the agricultural districts, such as Ping-yang-fu, in return for grain and opium, and that these latter are thereby enabled to buy imports from so distant a place as Tientsin.

I had occasion to observe, at a little distance from Ping-yang-fu, the mode inwhich *salt* is there manufactured. Some holes are dug in the alluvial soil, close to the Fuen river. A muddy brine

collects in them. A porous earth is moistened with it, and the water allowed to evaporate. This process is repeated several times, until the earth is well saturated with saline matter. It is then put in earthen pots, four or five feet high, having a hole in the bottom, and rammed tight. Pure well water is poured on the top of it. It percolates the earth very slowly, and escapes at the bottom in drops of concentrated brine. By evaporation saltpetre and salt are produced. The salt is impure, and sells at 20 cash per cattie. Government imports, besides, a considerable amount of a better sort of salt, from Tientsin, and sells it at about three times that price. In order to secure its sale, it is ordered that whoever buys native salt must purchase at least 30 catties at a time, while Tientsin salt can be bought by the ounce.

The chief place in Shansi as regards the production of salt, is a salt lake in Nganyi-hien (department of Kiai-chau), 70 li south of Ping-yang-fu. Great quantities of it are exported into Honan and to eastern Shansi. A third region where salt is manufactured is the plain of Taiyuen-fu. These three regions mark the places of deepest depression, in three distinct basins arranged from south to north. There are probably one or two more of these basins farther north, the last of the series being that of Ta-tung-fu, where salt is also manufactured. Their formation and that of the salt deposits in them, from which the brine rises to the surface, dates back from a very ancient period in the geological history of eastern China. It is probable that the manufacture of salt, on a much improved system, will be, at one time or other, the object of a far more important industry than it is at present.

Among the population of the department of Ping-yang-fu, and all others which lie on the great road, there are many men who have lived in other portions of China. From Ping-yang-fu, especially, they go as clerks to Peking; while those of Hochau and Tai-yuen-fu do an extensive banking business in various provinces. The home country, with its scanty resources, does not give them opportunity for bringing to account their mercantile talent, but they return to it with their earnings; and, although Shansi in its present state is by no means a wealthy province, there are many rich individuals living in it. It is said that they generally invest their money in enterprises in other provinces.

5. *Region of Ho-chau.*

The large basin of Ping-yang-fu closes north near the city of Ho-chau. Between this place and Lingshi-hien, the Fuen-ho breaks through rocky narrows, and has, still more than farther south, the character of a mountain stream perfectly unfit for navigation. The narrows are caused by the rising of the coal measures, together with the underlying limestone, which is here bent up so as to form a barrier between the basins of Pingyangfu and Taiyuenfu. The rocks are covered by loess, which also here is divided up into ribs at right angles to the Fuenho, sloping gently down to the west, and up to the high range of the Hoshan in the east. The road crosses two of these ribs, of about 1,000 to 1,200 feet elevation each, and is excessively bad. The gorges are cut through the loess into the postcarbon iferous and coal measures, and numerous coalbeds are exposed to view on the road-side and in nearly every gorge. A great number of small coal mines are therefore scattered on both sides of the Fuen-ho. They belong to the districts of Hochau, Ling-shi-hien and Kiau-hiu-hien.

The luxurious growth of grain, pulse, vegetables and poppy, on the irrigated fields in the bottomland near Hochau, formed, at the time of my visit, a marked contrast to those situated on the loess, which were dry and bleached, though the soil is capable of producing abundant crops in more favourable seasons.

6. *Plain of Tai-yuen-fu.*

The capital of Shansi is situated on the northern border of a level plain, which has an area of about 2,000 square miles, and is elevated about 3,000 feet above the level of the sea. It is a fertile and prosperous country, dotted with large and well built villages, besides two Fu and ten Hien cities. In some places the soil is swampy; in others it is highly saline, so as to give origin to the manufacture of an impure kind of salt; and in the neighbourhood of the rivers which descend from the southern hills, it is covered with very fine arid sand. With these exceptions, the plain of Taiyuenfu is fertile, and well adapted for raising grain. Water is obtained in nearly every place, at the depth of from 12 to 15 feet; and the fields can therefore be easily supplied with the requisite amount of moisture, even in seasons of such extraordinary drought as the present one. The agricultural produce is varied, and extensive gardens are planted with vegetables, poppy, and fruit trees. No cotton is raised. The plain is intersected by a net of waggon roads, on which there is a lively traffic. The commerce appears to concentrate in a few places, such as Yü-tsz-hien at the northeast end of the plain, Chang-lan-chin (張蘭鋪) on the southwest end, and Tai-yuen-fu. At Ki-hien, a celebrated fair of Mongolian ponies is held in October. Honan people come here to buy their stock.

Taiyuenfu enjoyed formerly a reputation for the manufacture of knives and swords; but this industry appears to be in no flourishing state at the present time.

7. *Surroundings of plain of Taiyuenfu.*

The plain of Taiyuenfu is on all sides enclosed by hills, so as to form a perfect basin; and owes its origin, evidently, to the filling up of a lake of equal area with the present plain. The water escaped through the steep channel which it gradually eroded through the barrier of coalbearing strata, between Ling-shi-hien and Ho-chau, and which is now used as a joint exit by the rivers which run through the former lake basin. The hills all around the valley appear to be similar in composition to that barrier. They rise from 1,000 to 1,500 feet above the valley on the southeast, and to as much as 2,500 feet on the northwestern side. Their outlines are gentle and undulating, owing partly to the loess which clothes them.

Coal is mined in many places on all sides, and in nearly every hien district of the valley; each mining place supplying the next adjoining portion of the plain. It is without exception bituminous coal, so far as I have seen it or enquired about it. Much of it is converted into coke. The coal sells at 10 to 60 *cash* per picul, or 13 to 78 cents per ton at the mines; the price varying less in regard to quality than in regard to the distance from the places of supply. The transportation to these is chiefly done by camels. I have seen in this valley very superior descriptions of coal. The best, which is extracted in large lumps, comes from the western and northern hills, chiefly the district of Tai-yuen-hien, and the hills east of Tai-yuen-fu. People said that the hills there are full of coal and iron. The principal mines are at Wo-fung-shan, 70 li southwest of Tai-yuen-fu. I did not visit them. Iron is smelted there from the ores, but not in large quantity. Sulphur is made at the same place.

8. *Coal and iron region of Ping-ting-chau.*

The passage across the watershed east of the plain of Taiyuenfu, is about 1300 feet above the latter, but owing to the difficulties which the loess offers to a convenient grading, the road has to ascend an altitude of 2,000 feet above the plain before reaching the watershed. Thence, the descent to the east is very gradual. All the rocks which are exposed to view underneath the cover of loess, are postcarboniferous. One descends through about 1500 feet of its nearly horizontal strata, before reaching the underlying coal measures. The first mines on the road are those of Shi-pa-tswi, 20 li northwest of Ping-ting-chau. A magnificent coal and iron region is reached on arrival at this place. The mines which are worked at present are situated in the three districts of Yü-hien, Ping-ting-chau and Loping-hien; there are none in Shau-yang-hien. The belt continues southward, from Loping to Ho-shun-hien, Liau-chau, and Lu-ching-hien near Lu-ngan-fu. But there are no mines of importance, on account of the difficulties of transportation, between Loping and Luching.

I visited Pingting and Loping. These places are situated at about the same absolute altitude with the plain of Tai-yuen-fu. Long, low ridges descend eastward, from the high plateau of the post-carboniferous strata. Their lower portions and eastern ends consist of the coal measures, which thence extend underneath the post-carboniferous to the west. Several layers of anthracite are imbedded in them. Experience has taught the inhabitants, that a good sort of anthracite can only be got in those places where it is covered by at least a few hundred feet of rock. Notwithstanding the numerous out-croppings of coalbeds on the hill sides, the mines (at least all those which I have seen) are therefore worked by vertical shafts. They descend to the depth of from 50 to 300 feet, and some of them are said to have been in use for upwards of a hundred years. All the mines are dry, as the coalbeds are naturally drained. The thickness of the coal varies ordinarily from 12 to 20 feet, and in some mines attains 30 feet. Mining is very easy and cheap. The roof of that coalbed to which most shafts descend is a hard sandstone; a few pillars and walls of coal are sufficient to sustain it. All the rest of the coal is extracted. Where the shafts are from 200 to 300 feet deep, nearly all of it reaches the surface in lumps. The solidity diminishes with the depth at which the extraction takes place. The price of lump coal, at the different mines, varies from 10 to 30 cash per picul, or from 13 to 40 cents per ton, and the country people pay even less than 10 cash. The anthracite of this region is of the same excellent description as that of Tse-chaufu; it has a large conchoidal fracture, great firmness, a perfectly clean surface and is very lustrous. The only noteworthy impurities consist in the thin earthy bands, which I have mentioned from other places.

As regards the manufacture of iron, Pingtingchau is inferior in importance to Tsechaufu. The districts of Pingting and Loping produce chiefly wrought iron; while in Yü-hien cast-iron pigs are principally made, which are recast into moulds at Pingtingchau. The processes applied in this region are the same which I have described when speaking of Tsechaufu, with this difference, that they are still more simple. Two or three plat-forms on loess, rising in terraces one above the other, and a few excavations in the soft walls of loess forming the sides of each platform—this is the whole establishment of an iron foundry, where not alone the ores are smelted, but castings and wrought-iron are both made. Two low walls, three feet high, fifteen feet long, and five feet apart, enclose the smelting place for a single layer of 300 crucibles. Top and front are open. On the fourth side is the wall of loess, in which a cave is dug for the bellows. A few of this sort of smelting places, a puddling furnace with a smoke-stalk consisting of a vertical pit in the loess, a cave for making crucibles, another for drying them, and a third to serve as lodgings and boarding room for a dozen or two of workmen, this is all that is required to make a foundry complete. On the highest platform the ores are smelted. The pigs are thrown down upon the second and third platforms; on one of which castings are made, while on the other the pig iron is converted into wrought iron. A capital of 30 dollars would be sufficient to start this complete set of foundry and iron works, including the purchase of a stock of coal, ore and fire-clay. These substances are all close at hand, and cost only a trifle. The iron ore is dug out and sold by the owners of fields which happen to be situated on ore-bearing strata. An open hole is sometimes sufficient to get the best iron ore; in other places pits are sunk to little depth. Various kinds of clay and moulding sand are got in a similar way. The iron is sold at 22 cash per cattie, its chief depots are Hwo-lu-hien and Shun-te-fu, which, in exchange, provide the mining country with grain. The works are so much scattered over the country, that I am unable to make any estimate as to the quantity of iron produced. It is large; and I give it only from hearsay, that it is inferior to that which is made in Tse-chau-fu.

The pottery of Ping-ting-chau deserves, too, a passing notice: it is chiefly a certain kind of very light and thin ware, with a graphitic lustre which is much valued by the Chinese, and is

largely exported to other portions of Shansi and Chili, a considerable quantity of it taking its way to Peking. The only place where it is made besides is Poshanhien in Shantung, whence that whole province is supplied. All this varied and valuable mineral produce is owing to the existence of the coal formation, which furnishes both the raw material and the fuel for its working. It is impossible to express in figures the extent of the coalfield of Pingting-chau. The present mines constitute a narrow and crooked belt, following the line along which the coal measures crop out, between the horizontal strata of the underlying limestone and the overlying postcarboniferous. From here the coal-bearing strata extend, between those two formations, to the west, southwest and north, nearly undisturbed for a great distance, in fact through almost the whole of southern Shansi. Adits miles in length could be driven within the body of the coal, underneath great thicknesses of superincumbent strata. It is probable that all or nearly all the anthracite beds would there be worth extracting. Mining is therefore capable of a practically almost unlimited extension.

These extraordinary conditions, for which I know of no parallel on the globe, will eventually give rise to some curious features in mining. It may be predicted that, if a railroad should ever be built from the plain to this region—and there is no other means of ever bringing to their due account its mineral resources—branches of it will be constructed within the body of one or other of these beds of anthracite, which are among the thickest and most valuable known anywhere, and continue for miles underneath the hills west of the present coal belt of Ping-ting-chau. Such a tunnel would allow of putting the produce of the various coal-beds immediately on railroad carts destined for distant places; it would, also, open out extensively the deposits of iron ore and clay.

9. *Hwo-lu-hien.* (**獲鹿縣**)

I have described, in the first paragraph on Shansi, the general features of the descent from Ping-ting-chau to the plain. The scenery among the cliffy limestone-hills is highly romantic. The rivers have eroded for themselves deep and narrow passages, through which the Chinese were unable to construct a practicable grading. The repeated ascents and descents which the road has to make, in order to avoid those places, renders it nearly unfit for traffic by carts; and it would puzzle an engineer to trace a convenient grading through this rocky defile. A branch of the great wall marks the boundary between Shansi and Chili. It is passed at the Ku-kwan gate, between two limestone cliffs, and is here substantial and in good repair. The limestone along the whole descent is bent into some large folds, in two or three of which remnants of the coal measures are left. The coal is in a crushed condition, no lump at all being procured, and is only used by the inhabitants of the vicinity on account of its low price. At Tsing-king-hien, 130 li east of Ping-ting-chau, a beautiful basin is reached, surrounded by a large circle of rugged hills. The surface in this basin consists of the soft strata of the coal formation, and work is done at several mines. But although their situation in reference to the plain is convenient, they will never be of any but local value, as the fuel is of an inferior description. It is a semi-bituminous coal, soft and crumbling. A considerable quantity is exported to the plain for blacksmith work.

At the eastern foot of the Silurian front range, which intervenes as a belt of serrated summits between the descent of the plateau and the plain, the city of Hwo-lu-hien is reached, 200 li east of Ping-ting-chau, and 660 li from Peking and Tientsin. The crowding of thousands of pack animals, mostly donkeys, in the last portion of the road, prepares the traveller beforehand for his arrival at a place of commercial importance. Hwo-lu is practically the terminus of the cart-roads from various portions of the plain; on the road westward to Shansi, carts are little used for the transportation of goods, nearly all freighting being done by pack animals. It is, however, not merely a transit place; the merchants of Hwo-lu are actual buyers of goods, and redistribute them. Hwo-lu is the chief place from which the province of Shansi is supplied, and exceeds Ching-wha in importance. For a commercial traveller, this would be the best adapted place for learning, within a short time, valuable details regarding the trade of Shansi; he would probably gather more information than by travelling through all the cities of that province. It is suprising that this has not yet been done by those interested in the commerce of Tientsin; as Hwo-lu is within easy reach from that place, and the supply of Shansi with foreign goods, on a larger scale than it takes place at present, should be among the chief objects connected with the Tientsin trade. I regret that I must confess to be incompetent for collecting just that kind of information which is needed from places such as Hwo-lu, because, to be of value, they require a detailed, and perfect acquaintance of the informant with the different articles of import, and certain features of trade current only to those who are themselves engaged in it. Besides, it is scarcely possible to gather correct information, on a passing visit in a busy trading place, chiefly when the curiosity of the people is so great as at Hwo-lu, and even signs of rudeness are not wanting.

Hwo-lu is the chief entrepot of coal, iron and pottery from the department of Ping-ting-chau, of the produce of the plain, and the imports from Tientsin destined for Shansi. The principal goods going west are raw cotton, cotton manufactures, salt, sugar, wheat flour, medicines, &c. I had here the first occasion, since leaving Hankow, to see foreign manufactures take a conspicuous part among the articles of import. From what I could learn, they were chiefly destined for the plain of Tai-yuen-fu, where I had noticed a considerable consumption of them before. Besides, they appear to be distributed, together with raw cotton, to the northern ports of Shansi, that is, to those regions where cotton is not planted, while southern Shansi is to all appearance a small customer. However, even at Hwo-lu the foreign imports occupy a very inconsiderable place, as compared with the large bulk forming the object of inland and local traffic.

10. *Eastern foot of the plateau of Shan-si, from Ching-ting-fu to Peking.*—

I had left the great plain for the high-lands of Shansi at Hwai-king-fu, and reached it again at Ching-ting-fu. The descent of the mountains along the whole line between these two places, which are about 1,200 li apart, appears to be steep and sharply defined. At Hwai-king-fu it is directed from southwest to northeast. It has a meridional direction between Chang-te-fu and Ching-ting-fu, and then resumes the southwest and northeast trend between that place and Peking. The descent of the plain to the east is very gradual, as is evident from the slow course of the rivers. Along the foot of the mountains there are remnants left of a belt of loess. Between Hwo-lu and Ching-ting-fu (60 li) the road is on this formation. A great deal of cotton is produced in this region, 40 out of every 100 mow being planted with it; the extent of its cultivation coincides probably with that of the loess, as is the case in many other instances. The region adjoining the road from Ching-ting-fu to Peking (600 li) is on an average of a low degree of fertility, because great portions of it are covered with sand deposited in times of flood, by the numerous rivers which descend from the western mountains. These regions presented now a desolate appearance, as the crops were a total failure, wherever the means of irrigation were wanting. From Ching-ting-fu to Ting-chau (120 li), loam, loess, sand, and fertile alluvial soil alternate, and this is the general character of the soil until Peking.

The road crosses two main rivers, the Pu-to-ho near Ching-ting, and the Hunho or San-kan-ho, which passes a few miles from Peking. Between these there are several small rivers, some of which are navigable; they empty into the Pu-to-ho, and through it into the Pei-ho at Tientsin. The Pu-to-ho is navigable to a short distance below Ching-ting-fu. All merchandize from Tientsin destined for Shansi, ascends the river to that place, and goes then on by carts to Hwo-lu. The next navigable river is the Kiu-ma-ho, passing through the large city of Tso-chau, where a considerable commerce appears to be done The third is the Liu-li-ho; by it the anthracite from Fang-shan-hien is conveyed to Tientsin. As I hastened from Ching-ting-fu to Peking, I followed the great road through the plain. My knowledge of the hills which border it immediately to the west, is therefore necessarily very limited; yet I have sufficient data to believe that they are poor in mineral products, in their whole length. I except of course the belt of coal hills before described, (see Honan § 9) which extends along the foot of the mountains in the department of Hwai-king-fu. The only other place, south of Ching-ting-fu, that appears to be worthy of a further examination, in regard to mineral produce, is the district of Tsz-chau, where coal is reported to occur. I am not acquainted with the character of the coal mined in that region, nor with its mode of occurrence. But if I am allowed to preconceive an opinion, on the strength of analogy, I do not believe that that region can excel in either respect, unless the coal is mined on the top of the first plateau, in the belt of anthracite mines.

Between Ching-ting fu and Peking, the front range is everywhere distinctly visible, rising immediately to summits of 2,000 feet and more above the plain. Its rugged outlines, and the nature of the rocks which are brought from it to places in the plain for building purposes, leave no doubt that it consists of the same silurian rocks of which it is composed near Hwo-lu, together with gneiss, syenite and porphyry. A wide depression appears to separate it in most places from the high mountainous region beyond, which is probably the descent of the plain of Shansi. At one place, at least, in this depression (situated 130 li northwest of Ting-chau) the coal measures reappear; seemingly a repetition of their mode of occurrence in the basin of Tsing-king-hien (see § 9). An impure semi-bituminous coal, which can be made use of in blacksmith furnaces, is brought from there to the plain; it is all small and dust coal, and sells at Ting-chau at 6 cash per cattie (Tls. 6 per ton). It is therefore probable that the original price at the mine is high, and the mode of occurrence disadvantageous.

Proceeding north, the next coal mines are those of Fang-shan-hien, 100 li west-south-west of Peking, which I intend to visit from this city. An anthracite of unusually high specific gravity is mined here. It is dull, very brittle, of short conchoidal fracture, and dark gray colour, blackening the fingers by handling. It differs in all these respects from the anthracite of Ping-ting-chau and Tse-chau-fu, which is to all appearance superior in quality. It sells at the mines at 130 cash per picul. Most of it is transported on camels to the mart of Liu-li-ho, a distance of 30 li, where its price is 200 cash. There it is put on boats and carried to Tientsin. The distance of that place is about 300 li by land and over 400 by water, freight is 300 cash per picul. The anthracite of Fang-shan should, accordingly, be laid down at Tientsin at Tls. 5 per picul.

Besides these two localities, distinguished by the occurrence of coal, no mineral products are known to me, from the mountains bordering the plain along the highroad; and those two are quite subordinate in importance, as compared with the grand coal and iron deposits of Shansi. This conclusion may appear rash, if it is considered that Fangshan is situated in the vicinity of Peking and Tientsin, while the chief mining districts of Shansi are remote from those two places and other important regions of supply. But it must be taken into consideration, that it is impossible to discuss the relative importance of the various mining countries in China, unless they are imagined to be connected with the regions of supply, and chiefly with a seaport, by better means of communication than those now existing—that is, by rail-roads. If Fangshan and Ping-ting-chau were connected, in this way, with Peking and Tientsin, and if we take, as a basis of calculation, the price of freight as established on German railways, then the cost of freight of anthracite from Ping-ting-chau to Tientsin or Peking, added to its original price would be Tls. 1.7.6; while the corresponding figures for Fangshan anthracite would be, Tls. 1.9.3 to Tientsin, and Tls. 1.5.4 to Peking. Leaving out of consideration all other advantages which are on the side of Ping-ting-chau coal, on account of its superior quality and its convenient situation in reference to large portions of the

plain, then its superiority as regards solidity would alone suffice to secure for it the monopoly of both markets. What is true in this respect of Fangshan, is applicable, on stronger grounds, to the various other coal localities in the vicinity of Peking and Tientsin.

RETROSPECT.

In taking a general review of the country between Hankow and Peking, along the route of my travels, three natural divisions may be distinguished; 1st, the valley of the Han river and its tributaries, including portions of Hupè and Honan; 2nd, northern Honan, between the Fu-niu-shan and the Tai-hang-shan; 3rd, the highlands of Shansi.

The valley of the Han river is an agricultural country of moderate fertility; and, though not distinguished by either variety or quantity of productions, yet produces enough, in favourable years, to export a considerable proportion of cotton, grain, hemp and other articles. It partakes in the facilities for extensive and cheap, though far from perfect, water-communication, proper to the central and south-eastern provinces of China; and can easily dispose of superabundance in good years, or supply its wants in time of drought.

Honan ranks among those provinces of China which are most favoured by nature. It is rich in both agricultural and mineral products. Coal, iron, and lead constitute the latter. Lead, which is the least in value, is exported west; iron is not manufactured at present, but the conditions for a renewed production of it continue to exist. The region of Lushan and Juchau yields a tolerably good bituminous coal, which is only consumed in the vicinity; while the region of the Tai-hang-shan produces a superior sort of anthracite, a small portion of which is exported to Chili. The agricultural produce is as varied as can be expected, in a latitude which does not allow the raising of crops of superior value, such as tea, sugar, &c. Wheat and grain in general, rank probably first in value; but, with the exception of some exports to Shansi, are consumed in the country, because the adjoining regions of Chili, Shantung, Shensi, and the Han valley are themselves largely productive. Cotton is grown extensively, and takes the first place among the articles of export. That from Juchau goes to the Han river, that from Honan-fu to Shansi, Shensi and Kansu. Opium is made nearly every where, mostly for home consumpt ion. The population is excessively large. The alluvial regions on the Hwangho are subjected to destructive floods; the loess regions to drought. Imports are supplied at nearly equal rates, from Hankow via Shï-ki-chin, from Ching-kiang by the mart of Chou-kia-kou, and from Tientsin by that of Tau-kou-chin. Intercommunication is not difficult, but slow and expensive, as there are no navigable rivers excepting a portion of the Hwangho. Insufficient crops are, therefore, productive of great suffering; while superabundance does not benefit the population in the same measure as would be the case if freight were easier and cheaper. The country serves, in a small measure, as a passage way from the east to Shensi, but is of vast prospective importance as the gate to Central Asia.

Shansi, finally, is throughout a mountainous country, and its chief products are mineral, viz., coal and iron. In proportion to its area, it has probably the largest and most easily workable coalfield of any region on the globe; and the manufacture of iron is capable of almost unlimited extension. Its own resources for supplying its population with food and clothing, which are mainly limited to the plain of Tai-yuen-fu and the valley of Ping-yang-fu, are far from sufficient, and a considerable importation is required. Hwo-lu-hien and Ching-wha-chin, both situated at the foot of the mountains of Shansi, are the chief places of supply; and serve, at the same time, as the chief depots for the mineral products of Shansi. Both places are dependent on Tientsin as regards imports by sea. Flour, grain, cotton, and manufactured goods are the chief articles which Shansi re ceives, in return for iron and coal. The means of intercomm unication are of the rudest and most expensive, and, though affording a living to a great number of hands, put imported breadstuffs nearly out of reach of the poor classes. The mountainous districts in particular are therefore subjected to famine and starvation.

I visited the three regions here spoken of, in a season which was exceedingly unfavourable for forming a just opinion in regard to the state of their general prosperity and wealth. In Honan and Shan-si the drought had been great for several years, and in this present year the first crops were almost a total failure, excepting on those very limited patches of ground which can be irrigated. The poverty of the people has therefore constantly kept increasing, and is now appalling in some districts. All kinds of food commanded an unusually high price. In Shansi, meat was a rare luxury, even pork was scarce, and salt fish, which usually serves as a substitute for meat, was only consumed by the wealthier classes. The second crops did, latterly, succeed better than the first ones. Millet is the staple of the second crops, and was now the chief article of food. A depression of all trade is the natural consequence of this poverty, and all imports other than breadstuffs diminish in quantity from year to year. This present year will undoubtedly be worse than the preceding ones. A single good wheat crop would change this state of things materially, but only a series of good crops would allow the country to return to its normal state.

On the causes of the backward state and growing decadence of the northern, as compared with the central and southern, provinces of China.

If we now consider the entire country described in this letter, together with all the regions north and northwest of it, in their normal state, that is, in that condition in which they are after a series of ordinary crops, we find that they contribute in a mere nominal degree to the exports from China to foreign countries; and, as the range of those productions, too, which they supply to the central and southern provinces of China is small, it is only a natural consequence, that they occupy a low position as consumers of foreign imports. These circumstances are partly due to the absence, in those provinces, of the staples of foreign exports. But this is not the sole cause. The traveller has occasion, at every step, to observe the contrast of the present poverty and inertness of the inhabitants, with the signs of a previously better condition. The large cities, even the villages,

the temples, the remnants of magnificent public structures, as well as the history of China, give evidence that the northern provinces have been in a more prosperous state. No more appropriate instance can be cited than the city of Peking itself, which abounds in the signs of former magnificence, and is now the theatre of growing ruin and decay. I will not here consider those internal causes of this change of conditions, which are connected with the forms of religion and government, but beg your indulgence for some concluding remarks, on those material causes which offer themselves to the constant observation of the traveller.

The first cause is the deterioration of the climate, which is probably the consequence of the extermination of the forests. Throughout the whole country, from Hankow to Peking, all mountain and hills are destitute of trees, and shrubs, and offer a most desolate aspect. The exceptions are the groves of trees at the villages and temples, and the range of the Fu-niu-shan, where many hillsides are planted with oak trees for feeding wild silkworms. There is no positive proof that it had formerly been otherwise. But it is exceedingly probable; and the people everywhere assert that their mountains were covered with trees, in old times. They are hardly aware of the natural connection between this tale and the saying of old people, that the rains decrease in frequency and increase in violence, from generation to generation. Besides this injurious effect of the devastation of the forests upon the climate in general, there is an immense amount of destruction incessantly going on, which would not take place if the hills were wooded. The heavy rains wash off the soil from the rocks; and the water, instead of penetrating into the earth, and being stored up for feeding springs, runs down the hillsides, and descends in torrents through gulches which before were perfectly dry. Where the river reaches the valley, the boulders are deposited, and fine sand is spread over the surface of fertile alluvial soil, rendering extensive regions unfit for agriculture. Instances of these destructions are numerous, in Shansi and on the borders of the great plain. If it were not for the loess, northern China would already be a desert, with some fertile valleys enclosed. Even this beneficial formation, which is the principal seat of agriculture, and more than other kinds of soil capable of storing up moisture, is undergoing a rapid destruction.

Another cause is the extremely bad state of the means of intercommunication. They have evidently never been in a good condition, yet were better than now in some former time, when Shansi and Honan were in a flourishing state. I have given, in the foregoing pages, some figures in regard to the prices of freight. They make patent the disadvantages under which the population labours, chiefly in regard to the cheap necessaries of life. I repeat, that coal, which costs in Shansi thirteen cents per ton at the mine, rises to four taels at a distance of 30 miles, and to over seven taels at a distance of 60 miles; also that, at Nan-yang-fu (Honan), coal from Hunan is used which has travelled eight hundred miles by water, and is sold at the same price with the coal mined at the distance of thirty miles from the city, but which is transported by land. Only those who live in close vicinity to coal mines can therefore derive benefit from them; while to others, who live at a day's walk, coal is a luxury for which they can no longer afford to pay. When the hills were wooded, this want was less felt; but the only fuel which is now used by the great majority of the population, consists in dried herbs and the last few remnants of rootlets of shrubs, which they dig up carefully from the ground. Similar considerations apply to the distribution of grain and other necessaries of life. It is painful to see how much animal power is wasted, on account of the imperfect construction of the roads. Five animals drag slowly a load of twenty piculs. This is the usual rate for the conveyance of goods. It is surprising to see what a large number of mules and horses are employed in the carrying trade, and how great a proportion of the agricultural land serves only the purpose of feeding these animals. As the service which is done by a horse in this region is probably, on an average, not more than one fifth of what it could be on well constructed roads, it may be said, that about four fifths of the area of fields retained for raising feed for cattle, is wantonly lost to the cultivation of other crops. This does not apply to the south, where only few horses are kept and grass is plentiful. The south can therefore sustain a comparatively larger population, if all other things are equal.

This consideration leads us to the third cause, which is the over-population of some of the northern provinces. It applies chiefly to Honan. The consequence is, that as much as possible of available ground must be retained for raising breadstuffs and clothing for the inhabitants themselves, and the produce which might be exported is restricted in quantity. If the soil is fertile, as in the department of Hwai-king-fu, the people are well fed and tolerably well clothed, but little money is gained to supply other wants. The cultivation of the fields requires only a limited number of hands; many are therefore unemployed, and the people in general become lazy and indifferent. The chief cause of the over-population is the early marriages. The increase of the population begins to bewilder the intelligent classes in Honan, and they have the desire to see the early marriages restricted.

It is scarcely possible, as yet, to estimate at its true value the effects of the use and growth of opium by the Chinese. It appears to me, that the inhabitants of the northern provinces, chiefly those of Shansi and Honan, are more addicted to its use than those of the south, for instance of Hunan. It may be, that the inactivity during winter, chiefly during the long evenings, causes the promulgation of the evil. It was asserted to me in several places in Shansi, that ninety per centum of the adult male population are given to that vice, and that it is not uncommon among women. It is equally found in cities and villages, and spreads even largely among the labouring classes, which are still free from it in the south and in Manchuria. The population of whole towns are disfigured by the haggard faces and staring eyes, consequent on the use of opium. Without taking here into account its moral effects, it must not be overlooked, from an economical point of view, that opium-smoking consumes a great deal of time, which would otherwise be devoted to labour, and weakens the system for the rest of the time actually employed in work. The aggregate amount of physical force and mechanical work, by which the population is impoverished every year, would sum up terribly, if it could be calculated. From the consequences of the use of opium, must be distinguished those which attend its growth. I did not ascertain, what proportion of arable ground is occupied by the cultivation of the poppy. Since its introduc-

tion, twelve years ago, the area planted with it has been constantly increasing. Unlike the southwestern provinces, where copious rains appear to allow the growth of the poppy in nearly every place that would be adapted to other crops, it is the best fields which are reserved for it in the north, chiefly the irrigable land; and its cultivation requires the same care as that of garden vegetables. If the same fields were applied to raising wheat, and the same extra labour to other purposes, the population would be better off. On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that this consideration applies to the Chinese Empire at large, but, if we descend into detail, is only true in those instances where the opium raised is consumed at home, as is the case in Honan and Shansi, while material benefits can accrue where it is exported, as is the case with Shensi and Kansu. As these provinces produce, besides medicine, no other article of export, and as the opium raised there commands a high price, its direct injurious effects upon the growers may be more than counterbalanced, by the material welfare consequent on the sale of the drug; and, though injuring one branch of foreign commerce, that sale may also be the best means to enable the inhabitants of Shensi and Kansu to buy other foreign imports. I have already said that Indian opium is consumed in very little quantity in the north-western province, although the native growth of the poppy is strictly prohibited by law. This prohibition is among the most prolific sources of income of the officials. Poppy is grown as openly and publicly as wheat; but, for every acre planted with it, the tacit connivance of the authorities has been secured by bribery, otherwise the law would be enforced.

The competition with foreign trade is another cause of the decadence of the wealth of the north western province. If we commence with the trifling article of needles, their manufacture in Shansi has been almost annihilated, by the importation of the much better and cheaper foreign article. The same will be true, before long, in regard to guns and steel ware; and there can be no doubt that the injurious effects of foreign competition have been seriously felt by the iron trade of Shansi in general. * Being the only noteworthy article of export from that province, the diminished sales and reduced prices contribute to impoverish the inhabitants. A similar competition has existed, and does exist, in the South, for instance in regard to cotton goods; but any reduction which the native trade may suffer, is there fully counterbalanced by the demand of the foreign merchant for tea and silk, and their increased pro duction. This commercial prosperity of the South, attending the relations with foreign countries, is another cause not only of the comparative but the absolute decadence of the north, inasmuch as the central and southern provinces have become independent of it, medicines and some cotton being nearly all they require of its products.

Finally, the devastations by rebellion must be reckoned among the causes which have materially affected the prosperity of the northern provinces; for, although they have actually not suffered more, and perhaps less, than the southern provinces, they do not recover as easily as those. An instance is afforded by the manufacture of iron in Lushanhien, which died with the troubles attending the accession of the present dynasty and did not revive afterwards. The easy means of locomotion in the south, allow a devastated province to be settled, in the course of time, from other over-populated regions. But, great as the attractions of the fertile province of Shensi may be to the Chinese, it will be a long time before the ravages made, first by the Nienfei, and at present by the Hwy-fei † on the number of the population, shall be restored, because the heavy and expensive means of filling the ranks by immigration will here hardly be had recourse to.

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* It is not possible to arrive at a correct estimate of the quantity of iron produced in Shansi. The chief region where it is manufactured is *Tse-chau-fu*. None is smelted from the ores in Lu-ngan-fu, which is wrongly considered as the main iron region of Shansi. I had this information when travelling through the country; and it has been confirmed to me, by a gentleman who travelled especially through the department of Lunganfu. But as Tsechau fu did formerly form part of that department, the name of Lu-ngan-fu iron, or *Lu-iron*, is still applied for that produced in Tsechaufu. A great quantity of pig iron, from the latter country, probably about one-half of all that is made, takes its way to Lu-ngan-fu, where it is converted into castings and wrought iron. This fact contributes to cause the mistake to continue to exist.—Second, in regard to quantity and quality, ranges the department of *Ping-ting-chau*, which produces the *Ping-iron*. I believe that, without danger of over-estimation, the quantity of iron made in the districts of Fungtaihien and Kaopinghien (Tsechaufu) can be put at 200 tons daily. If we add Yang-ching-hien (in Tsechaufu) with 50 tons, Ping-ting-chau with 150 tons, and Tai-yuen-hien with 50 tons per day, then we arrive at a yearly produce of the province of Shansi of about 160,000 tons of iron, which leave the province in the shape of cast iron and wrought iron. At 20 cash per cattie, the value of this article of export is over three million taels. The consumers have to pay about half a million taels for carrying this quantity of iron one hundred li (30 miles), from the place of manufacture in the direction towards them.

† Hwy-fei is the name given to the Mahome-dan rebels, as distinguished from the Hwy-hwy, which means Mahomedans in general. I will add, here, a few notes on the state of this rebellion, as it was during the time of my journey. In January and February, a large organized body of rebels was about 100 li west of Lan-chau-fu, the capital of Kansu. At the same time, the Imperialists were mostly farther west, some as far as Su-chau-fu. They were reported 100,000 strong in all, badly fed and paid, and unwilling to fight, the Imperial general chiefly trying to avoid battle. The rebels were said to be well armed, partly with European guns, and not afraid of death. In the beginning of May, some mandarins travelled from Szechuen on the great road, via Singan-fu to Peking. When I met them in Shansi, they reported organized rebel troops east of Lan-chau-fu, near the borders of Shensi. No battle had taken place. But they had themselves narrowly escaped disorganized bands, which infested the department of Fung-tsiang-fu, north of the road, burning vilages, killing and robbing the inhabitants. No rebels were east of Fung-tsiang-fu. These news were substantially confirmed by merchants from Shensi. On arrival at Peking, I learned that other roving bands did infest the north of Shensi, and advanced as far as the north-western corner of Shansi; they entered Mongolia near Kwei-hwa-chin (Kukuhoto), and were known at one time to be within 600 or 800 li from Urga, where great anxiety was felt. They have retreated on that whole line, but the caravan road from Kweihwachin to Uliassutai and Kobdo is not yet open. The Chinese mails for those places go by way of Kiachta and Siberia. Since General Li has been set against the Hwy-fei, the Chinese are confident that the rebellion will be crushed.

There are other disturbances in the country, consequent on the famine and drought. The most serious one was near Honan-fu, at the time when I passed through that region. The districts of Sung-hien and I-yang-hien, south of Ho-nan-fu were then considered unapproachable, as several hundred men had congregated into a band of robbers, and fortified themselves in the hills, whence they made raids into the country. The first attempt to capture them had failed, and a body of several thousand soldiers, commanded by the highest military officer of Honan, were on the way to attack them. It is not probable that they have had success, because the bravest Chinese soldiers dread attacking a naturally fortified place.

Means of improving the condition of the Northern Provinces.

After having thus examined into the causes of the decadence of the northern provinces, we may ask: can this course of retrogression be checked, and a movement in the direction of material progress be created in its place? and have foreign nations a practical interest in promoting such a change? The latter question must be emphatically affirmed, as the extension of foreign commerce to any region is dependent, in a great measure, upon the state of material prosperity of the people inhabiting it. As regards the first question, there are certain causes of the retrogression, such as those dependent upon the climate, which cannot be remedied; others are connected with forms of religion and government, and are not within the scope of these communications; but there are still others, to which there are effectual remedies. These are all comprehended in the one proposition—improvement of the means of intercommunication, so as to be up to the level of modern times. In the central and southern provinces, great improvements, and a considerable increase of trade, are possible without such measures, although they would be of incalculable value in accelerating and enhancing progress. But in the north, this is the cardinal point, upon which all others are dependent, and no other efficient remedy does exist for them.

If we take into view the provinces of Honan and Shansi, their connection by railway with some sea-ports would, in the first place, allow the exportation of their most valuable produce, namely the mineral, and render possible its distribution throughout a populous country. The domestic consumption of coal, in the neighbourhood of the mining districts, in the north of China, is extraordinary. Such a place resembles a beehive in activity, many thousands of men and animals being often engaged in removing the coal. As no fuel of value exists throughout the great plain, and coal is completely out of reach for, probably, at least ninety per centum of its area, every station of a railroad through it would become a similar centre of coal trade, to those of the now existing mining places which are situated in populous regions. There would, consequently, be a great increase in the profits at the mines, and in the number of workmen employed; an unbounded extension of carrying trade and local traffic would take place; an immense benefit be conferred on some of the most populous regions of China; and some seaports would be supplied with a fuel that is probably second to no other in value, at a tolerably cheap price, and in large quantity. No less considerable would be the increase, and the improvement, in the manufacture of iron; as the market for it would, in consequence of low prices of freight, be extended far beyond its present limits; and the use of iron become as general in the great plain as it is now in the regions adjacent to the iron districts. It is probable that the cheap price of labour and material in Shansi, and the superior quality of the wrought iron made there, would render it possible to export certain descriptions of Shansi iron to other countries on the Pacific. An important article of distribution through the agricultural districts would be lime, which is extensively used in China for the purpose of manuring, but at present within reach of a limited portion only of the inhabitants of the great plain.

The wealth of Shansi and certain portions of Honan would, therefore, vastly increase, by the direct sale of their mineral produce; and the inhabitants would become acquainted with wants which they did not know before. The prime condition of an increased importation of goods, from foreign countries, would therefore be given. But a still more powerful stimulus, to all commercial relations in general, would be created by the immediate application of iron and coal to industrial pursuits. It is very probable that the northern provinces will eventually be the manufacturing regions of China. In regard to all these moves in advance, I fully endorse the words which you use in your Report on the Upper Yangtse: "Though the Chinese are of themselves incapable of originating any such improvement, they are very ready to avail themselves of it, when provided for them. But the spirit of enterprise is all on the side of foreigners, and the onus of every forward movement in commerce must necessarily rest on them."

The consideration of the benefits which, by the introduction of such improvements, would be conferred upon a nation endowed with so much natural intellect and commercial spirit as the Chinese, is a vast subject for the statesman, national economist, and philanthropist. I will merely mention two of the most essential. If there exists any means of checking the use of opium in China, it is this, to give employment to the people; and nothing will put a more effectual stop to rebellions, than to place those regions most infested by them within easy reach from the Capital.

As to the provinces of Shensi and Kansu, the benefits which would accrue to them, from an improvement of the means of intercommunication, would perhaps be even greater than those that would be enjoyed by Shansi and Honan. I am not yet prepared to speak with precision, in regard to those remote northwestern provinces, the conditions of which are almost unknown to us; but hope to lay before you some material in respect to them, in the course of a few months.

I have the honour to be,

Dear Sir,

Yours very respectfully,

F. v. RICHTHOFEN.

Peking, June 1870.

ERRATA.

Page 5, line 45. For "Wei-ton-shan" read "Wei-tsu-shan."

Pages 6, 7, 11 and 15 where "Tan-kow" occurs read "Tau-kou."

Page 9, line 33. For "province" read "provinces."

Page 11. For "Sin-wu" read "Siu-wu."

Page 14, line 20. For "Fan-shan-hien" read "Fau-shan-hien."

Line 69. After "well" insert "as."

Page 16, line 8. For "Taipang" read "Taiyang."

Line 38. After "iron" insert "ore."

Line 64. Leave out the first "The" and insert "No."

Encl
#74

Acknowledges — No Baker note upon receipt of and Ack'd Dec 2
No Baker note upon receipt of and Ans 25

DEPARTMENT RECEIVED NOV 25 1870 OF STATE

Dispatch N: 83

Legation of the United States,

Peking, September 25. 1870

Sir,

In compliance with your dis-
patch of March 10th (N: 10) which I have
now the honor to acknowledge, I wrote
to Messrs Olyphant & Co. Depositary of the
U. S. Indemnity Fund, with whom I had
placed the flag-staff indemnity on interest
for one year, requesting them to transmit
principal and interest to you in well-ap-
proved bills of exchange, and notify you
of their action.

You have doubtless received
their letter of July 20th with the Bill of
Exchange

Hon. Hamilton Fish,
Secretary of State.

Exchange for £470..8..5, and the accompanying account, thereby bringing to a point every. thing connected with the receipt and dis. bursement of the Indemnity Fund, of which this Firm was made the Depositary in 1859.

The original claim for destruction of this flag-staff was $1000, and the sum of $1350 was received from the Chinese Govern. ment, principal and interest for three years inclusive. From this the sum of $50 was paid to the Consul at Canton for a new staff, and the sum of $58 to the U. States' Legation for staff and flag at Peking. -- The items of the account are, -

Original claim	$1000
Payments for staffs and flag	108
Accrued interest since 1857	1071
	$2179

This sum of $2071.57 has, I need hardly add, no connection with the surplus of the Chinese Indemnity Fund already in your hands. The staff was originally put up under the direction of Commodore Fox. Sail Parker in 1844, two masts with stays and halliards, about 120 feet high. On it he placed a gilt arrow for a weather-cock, three or four feet long, whose gyrations so much alarmed the Cantonese, from the supposed noxious influence in causing the sickness then prevailing (May, 1844) as the bark pointed here and there, that the gentry applied to Mr. Paul S. Forbes, then U. S. Consul, asking him to take it down, stating "that the arrow shot to all quarters, causing serious impediment to the felicity and good fortunes of the land." In fact this vane

nearly

£
The draft for 470:8:5
was received
Sept 22 1870
it was drawn payable
6 months after sight
on Forbes Barnes
London and
was sent to Messrs
Baring Bros for
Collection

Euler

$$\int_0^\infty \frac{x^2}{e^x - 1}\,dx$$

nearly caused a riot, and it was removed as a means of preserving the peace. When the mast was burned in 1856, a claim was made on behalf of the U. S. Government at my suggestion, and you have now received the proceeds. I trust that my action in the matter will meet your approval

I have the honor to be,

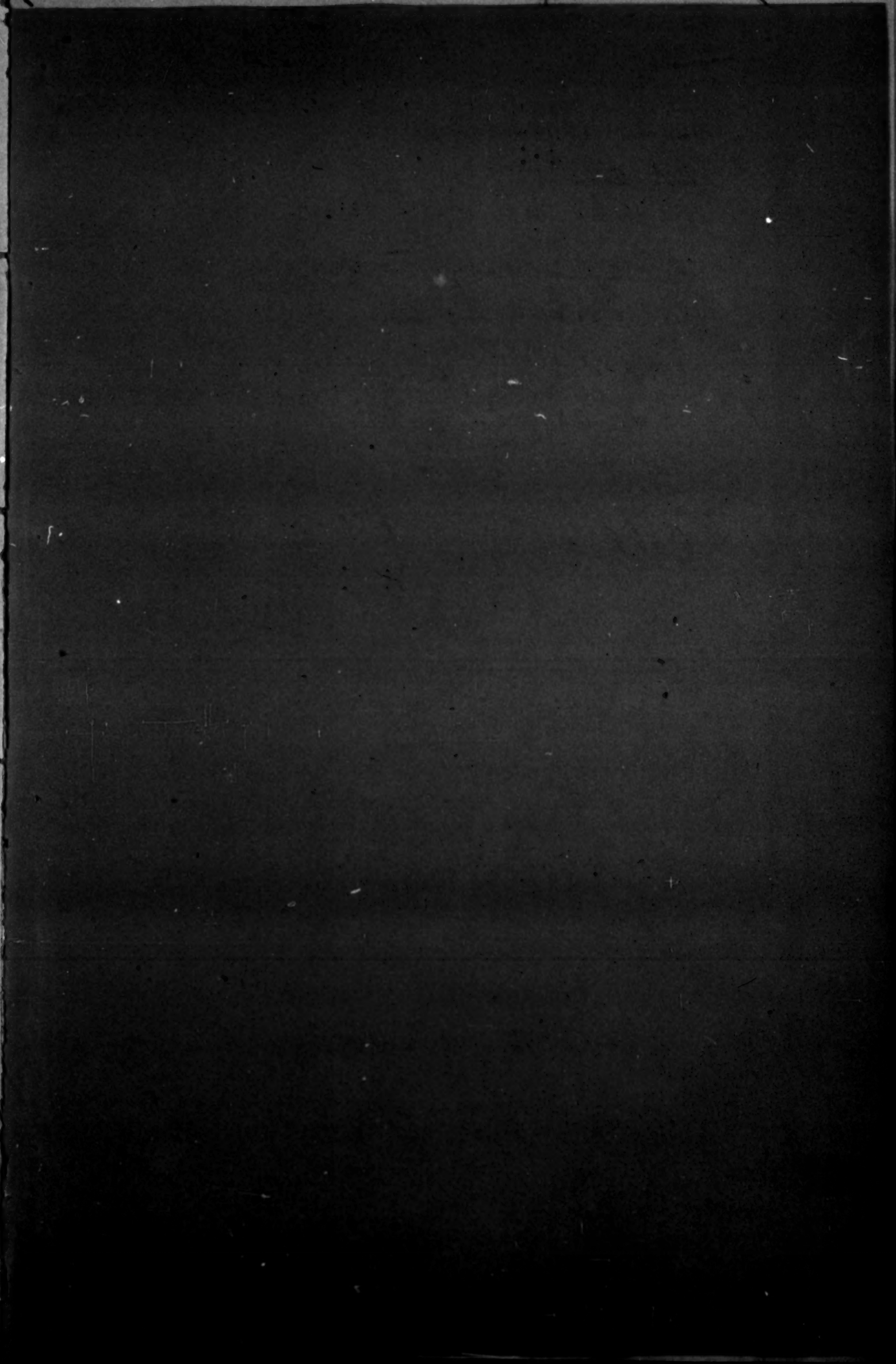
Sir,

Your most Obedient Servant,

D. Mills Williams

Cut
mo

$A_{in}^2 29 \; 400 \; \Sigma \; 70$



£

Encl
No

Am 2 29 Doc 2 70

FOREIGN Relations '70

DEPARTMENT RECEIVED NOV 15 1870 OF STATE

No 31. 3 Enclosures

Frederick F Low

to

Department of State

Peking September 26. 1870

Encloses correspondence between himself and Prince Kung upon the removal of the Missionaries from Tungchow, and the disturbed state of affairs generally, and comments thereon

No 31. 3 Enclosures

Legation of the United States,
Peking September 26. 1870

Sir:-

Referring to my despatch No 29 relating to the withdrawal of the missionaries from Tungchow, I have now the honor to enclose copies of my note, called out by this affair, to Prince Kung (Enclosure A) his reply thereto (enclosure B); and another note from Prince Kung transmitting a decree of the Emperor (enclosure C).

In view of the disturbed conditions

Hon Hamilton Fish
Secretary of State

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Peking September 26. 1870

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In view of the disturbed
Hon Hamilton Fish conditions
Secretary of State

condition of the country caused by rumors of intended violence, and believing that these rumors as well as the hostile spirit exhibited by the natives are caused mainly by the late massacre at Tientsin, and that the delay and uncertainty in the punishment of the guilty lead the people in other places to believe that the riot was justifiable, and meets with the implied approval of the Government rather than its condemnation, I deemed it entirely proper, as well as my duty to improve the occasion to review the Tientsin affair, giving to the

Prince

Prince - my opinions regarding
the failure thus far of the
Government to do its duty,
and pointing out the peril in
which the lives and property
of all foreign residents are
placed in consequence of this
dilatory, halting and uncertain,
policy I also referred to
the possibility of dangerous
complications growing out of
this affair unless a more
vigorous course be pursued.
The note is strong, though
entirely respectful, and will,
I hope, have some effect
for good.

I beg, most respectfully,
to refer to

to refer to that document for a
resumé of my opinions upon
the situation

In this connection I desire
to say that, while I believe
there is danger, I, by no means,
consider the situation as as
perilous as the people generally
do; — At the same time
they may be right and I
wrong

The Prince's reply, while
it is entirely satisfactory with
regard to the immediate subject
which called it forth — the
Tungchow disturbances — fails
entirely to meet the general
question in a proper way

It

It is simply an apology for the delay, and affords no reasonable ground for believing that such steps will be taken as will quiet the turbulence of the people and re-establish confidence among the foreign residents He intimates that there have been, and are still, difficulties in the way of speedy action. This I am prepared to believe; but these difficulties, in my opinion, could be surmounted if the Prince and his associates would exhibit a little more courage and resolution

The

The hostile spirit of
the people at Tientsin, undoubtedly,
deterred the officials from taking
prompt action in the beginning
& at the attempts at summary
punishments of the rioters should
cause another uprising for
their protection and deliverance;
and the (unwise) action of
the French Chargé d'affaires
raised such a storm of
opposition in the higher
official circles to prevent
a compliance with the
demand made by him, that
Prince Kung and his associates
were, for a time, powerless.
These reasons are without

force

force now, and afford no
apology for delay

It is undoubtedly
true that immediately after
the receipt and rejection of
what may properly be termed
M de Rochechoarts ultimatum,
the Government effected a
hostile demonstration from
France and commenced
making preparations to resist
an attack. Li-Hung-chang
an able official and a
General of distinction, who
was then in command of
the Imperial forces operating
in the west against the
Mohamedan Rebels, was
called

called to Pientsin with all the troops that could be spared from the Western army Mou recently he has been appointed Governor-general of this Province He has now arrived, and has, it is said, from 10 000 to 20 000 troops near him at Pientsin The moving of these troops gave rise to all sorts of rumors of an intended attack upon foreigners. My own opinion is, however, that the ordering of these troops to Pientsin was solely with a view to defence in case of attack by the French

The

The news from Europe must have dissipated all apprehensions of any hostile movement this Autumn

It has also, I am sorry to say, had the effect to make the officials more dilatory in their actions and less inclined to do their duty promptly and properly

The latest intelligence from Europe via St Petersburg announces the defeat and surrender of a large part of the French Army with the Emperor at its head; the overthrow of the Government and the proclamation of a

Next

new one instead.

In view of this startling and unexpected news the French Emperor called his Colleagues together on the 31st inst, and asked their advice and assistance in the common interest of all. We have taken hold of the question and shall do what we can; but the situation now is difficult and somewhat embarrassing, and I am not sanguine as to results. The Representatives of Great Britain, Russia, North Germany and the United

United States, joined in a
note to Prince Kung on the
24th instant, but as yet
no reply has been received
I defer sending a copy
or making further comments
until an answer comes and
I get more light

If I appear to over-
burden the Department
with dispatches and papers
concerning affairs here,
my apology must lie
in the fact that it is
altogether probable that
correspondence and consul-
tations will be necessary
between the Chief Treaty

Powers

Powers, growing out of
political questions here;
and it is my desire that
the Department may be
in possession of all the
information necessary to
form intelligent and correct
opinions upon all the questions
involved.

I have the honor to be
Sir,
Your obedient servant
Fredrick F. Low

Dispatch 31
Enclosure A

Legation of the United States
Peking September 13th 1870

To His Imperial Highness
Prince Kung

It becomes
my duty to inform you that,
in consequence of the threatening
attitude of the people, and
failing to obtain from the local
officials any satisfactory
assurances of protection, the
American Missionaries residing
at Tungchow, near Chefoo, deemed
it prudent to withdraw temporarily, to the
latter place. The danger
to them appearing so imminent,
the ordinary routes of land
travel being considered unsafe,

and

and there being no other means
of transport by water available,
the Admiral of H M^s Fleet in
these waters, upon the request
of the United States Vice Consul
at Chefoo, kindly sent two
vessels-of-war on the 1st instant,
and transported the Missionaries
with their families to Chefoo,
where they now are. The
number of men, women and
children attached to the Mission
is eighteen, — all Americans

One of the Missionaries
in advising me of their action
and the causes which led to
it, asks my advice as to the
proper course for them to

pursue

" pursuit, having in view their personal safety and the security of their property (which was necessarily left behind) at Tungchow. Before replying to this letter I deem it proper to lay the facts in this case before Your Imperial Highness and, at the same time, offer some observations upon the unhappy state of affairs which exists at Tungchow and other places.

It is a fact painfully apparent to all foreign residents, that, since the terrible tragedy at Tientsin, the attitude of the local officials

and

and the people generally there and at many other places, towards foreigners, has been in marked contrast to that kind and cordial relations which should exist.

It is unnecessary here to inquire whether the outbreak at Tientsin was a sudden uprising of the people to redress, by violence, fancied wrongs, and was altogether local in its origin, or whether it was a part of a more extended and wide-spread conspiracy, fomented by designing officials and persons of the higher classes of civilians,

without cause, other than a purpose of gratifying a long cherished hatred and desire for revenge against the people of Western Nations; - whether the wrath of the people was directed specially against the French as a nationality and the Roman Catholics as a religious body, or whether all nationalities and religions would have suffered equally had they resided within the territory where the mob assembled, and near the scene of its bloody deeds. Without discussing the causes, I desire, most respectfully, to offer to

Your

Your Imperial Highness the result of my conclusions as to the effects which the news of this lamentable affair at Tientsin has had upon the people in other places

The tales of horrible cruelties practiced by the Roman Catholics are now credited and believed by the people generally, notwithstanding the report, after searching investigation, of the high officer Tsing-Kwoh-fan to the contrary, and in opposition to the solemn declaration of the Emperor, that all these stories are without foundation and false. It seems scarcely

possible

possible that such opinions can be entertained by the common people against the the evidence before referred to, upon any other hypothesis than that the local officials and persons of rank and distinction are bringing an influence to bear to render foreigners distasteful in the eyes of the people, and inciting hostility which will, unless ~~unless~~ checked promptly, be likely to bring on a collision

There is no evidence of any change for the better in the feelings of the inhabitants of Teinsin, nor are there any

signs

signs of regret for the terrible scenes enacted on the 21st June.

On the contrary the manufacture and sale of fans (until stopped by official action, upon the complaint of a foreign Consul) bearing engravings of the burning buildings and the murder of their inmates, show only too plainly that the people of that City desire by illustrations of their bloody deeds to be reminded of the eventful day when innocent and helpless women were, with others, cruelly sacrificed.

The failure to punish any of the guilty actors, although nearly

nearly three months have since elapsed, tends in no small degree to confirm the people in the belief that the riot was a justifiable retribution, in which the Government sympathizes; and leads to the belief that similar attacks upon foreigners will meet with official sanction and approval, rather than condemnation and punishment.

In addition to all this, the knowledge that large bodies of troops are moving from the western Provinces eastward into Shantung and Chihli affords a basis

basis for the evil-disposed to circulate reports that the Imperial Government has designs hostile to the foreign residents. This adds to the excitement and fills with alarm the missionaries, and others residing in the two provinces before named.

It was currently reported in Tungchow during the last days in August that 2000 troops were marching from the Capital of the Province toward that place preparatory to the extermination of the missionaries, and threats were freely and openly indulged

in

in that, on the 10th of September all foreigners would be sacrificed. So general was the belief, that the native servants of the missionaries were appealed to by their friends and relatives to leave their employers, before the day appointed, otherwise their lives would probably be sacrificed with the rest.

The missionaries hearing these reports, from distinct and separate sources, felt compelled to give heed to them, and, failing to get any satisfactory refutation of the reports or any guarantee of safety from the local officials concluded to take the

Peter

Stek I have before indicated.

In the collective note of 24th June, in which all the Foreign Representatives joined, the danger of dilatory action on the part of the Government was pointed out, and grave apprehensions of further trouble were felt unless the opening at Tientsin was promptly and effectually put down; and in personal interviews which I have had the honor to have with Your Imperial Highness and the other members of the Foreign Office, since, I have urgently pressed upon you and them

the

the necessity of prompt and decided actions in the way of searching out and punishing the guilty. I have also pointed out the great importance of taking every means to enlighten and instruct the people in regard to the peaceful purposes of all foreign residents, and the Missionaries in particular; that no foreigner has been or possibly can be guilty of the practices imputed to them by the ignorant and superstitious, and that all Missionaries are animated by pure and peaceful motives, engaged in no political intrigues, and

Deliver

seeking only the highest welfare of the people by striving to make them honest and good

Candor compels me to say that there has been a lack of promptness, and I believe, of earnestness, on the part of the officials deputed by the Government to ascertain and bring to punishment the guilty persons at Tientsin

Prior to the troubles, two persons at Tientsin and a larger number at Nanking, accused of kidnapping, were arrested, tried, and punished with the extreme penalty of the law; and in the case

of

of the Cattle the extreme haste of the officials in the trials and punishment of the criminals, provoked much discussion, and, I am informed, called forth protests against, what seemed to be indecent haste.

If the law sanctioned these hasty trials and summary executions, in cases where kidnapping was the crime, I fail to see why the assassins of peaceful foreign residents, including foreign officials and innocent and inoffending women, should have any greater clemity shown them, and in a place where the

known

known participation in the riot is an honor and its leadership a notable distinction; it ought not to be difficult to ascertain who are the guilty ones deserving punishment. Hence the delay appears to be without cause and leads many to doubt the good faith of the Government

Unless a change in the status of affairs soon occurs which will reestablish public confidence in the fidelity of the Government to its treaty obligations; which will reassure the citizens and

Subjects

subjects of the Treaty Powers that their residence in China will be safe and their property protected, grave apprehensions may reasonably be entertained that the good will and cordial support of some of the most influential and powerful of the Western Nations will be lost to China

The traditional policy of the United States in their intercourse with China is peace, which it is the earnest desire of the undersigned as well as his Government to maintain; and nothing will cause a departure from this

this policy except the flagrant violation of the rights and privileges of their citizens by the people, and the failure of the Imperial Government to apply the proper remedy, promptly

In view of these considerations, I again, most earnestly, call your attention to the Condition of affairs at Tungchow, to the end that you will cause such measures to be adopted as will assure citizens of the United States of their safety and hasten the return of the missionaries to their homes and their posts of duty

In

In the foregoing I have, with entire frankness, endeavored to place before Your Imperial Highness a plain exposition of the situation in which all foreigners in the Empire are placed, and the danger to which they are exposed, which will, unless speedily averted, lead to the most unhappy consequences

With renewed assurances of my high consideration I have the honor to be,

Your Imperial Highness'

Obedient servant

Frederick F. Low

Dispatch N: 31
Inclosure B

Tungchi, 9th year, 8th moon, 29th day

September 24. 1870

Prince Kung, chief secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, herewith sends a reply.

I had the honor to receive your dispatch of the 16th inst., in which you inform me that Mr. Mateer and other American missionaries residing at Tangchau, in Shantung, had written to you stating that rumors had been rife among the citizens there during this and last month, that in consequence of the Tientsin riot, a body of troops from the provincial capital Tsinan would reach it on the 10th of September, whereupon their scholars and servants left them, and they with their families had all gone aboard ship and temporarily

removed

removed to Chifu, from whence they had inquired of you whether they had better go back to Tängchau or not: — but before replying, you concluded to bring the matter to my notice, alluding moreover to the present state of unrest between natives and foreigners, and asking that orders may be sent to the officials in Shantung to take measures to remove the fears of the missionaries, and assure their safe residence in Tängchau, &c. &c.

In respect to the rumors circulated at Tängchau, I have to reply that before I had received your Excellency's dispatch, orders had been sent from the Foreign Office to the provincial Governor and to the Intendant of Täng-

chau

chau, immediately to issue proclamations clearly making known to the people that the rumors were quite groundless, and they were to give no credence to them; and as they caused mutual distrust and alarm, these officers were to take measures to dissipate suspicions of this kind so that foreigners and natives could henceforth live peaceably together.

Further orders were yesterday sent to Gov. Ting [of Shantung] to enjoin upon the district-magistrate of Pinglai (i.e. Tängchau city) to adopt precautionary measures to remove all doubt and alarm, so that when Mr. Mateer and his associates return, their safety can be assured. The day fixed by rumor — Sept. 10th — for bringing in soldiers and destroying the missionaries,

missionaries having long since passed over without disturbance, plainly shows that the whole was a rumor unworthy of belief, which need have excited no alarm.

The doubt which your Excellency expresses, that the delay in settling the riot at Tientsin, and the want of energy manifested in dealing with it, considering the serious consequences likely to result from it, are calculated to lead all western nations to doubt the faith and earnestness of the Government, arouses in my mind the closest attention, and shows your full knowledge of the matter. In dealing with an affair like this, that involves the relations between this and other countries, it is

indeed

indeed important that the Government should earnestly put forth its utmost energy, uniting safety with speed in bringing it to a close. But in dealing with the difficulties of this case, we have proved the truth of the saying, the more haste the worse speed; having found that the two are incompatible, the wisest course for us seems to be to humor things so as to attain the end safely.

Can any one doubt that Government desires to speedily bring the Tientsin riot, and all that has grown out of it, to a close? Yet to arrest the murderers is not easy, — to find the clue to them is hard, — but the hardest of all is to reconcile the evidence obtained; for the whole affair

was

was done on a sudden provocation, and had no leader who had planned it. When a great crowd rushes together in a frenzy, the course of events cannot be closely remembered, nor who it was that killed the victims be certainly found out or known. The names of the leaders, or the actual murderers are not ascertainable, and this makes the difficulty in arresting them. When robbers plunder and secrete their booty, it is comparatively easy to trace them; but here, all the world ran about in commingling crowds without order or leaders; and this is what makes it so hard for us to get any clue to the guilty.

In common cases of robbery or murder, the plunder is hid somewhere,

where, or there is proof of the killing, some-
body has taken the lead in the act; but
in this instance, there is nothing, no
booty, no proof, no leader, nothing to
guide to a conviction.

But the most difficult part is
in discriminating the evidence; for if
the prisoners are verbally interrogated
their testimony is not true probably,
and if they are put to the question, they
are ready to implicate the innocent.
This shows the difficulties in the way
of getting evidence. Amidst these va-
rious obstacles, if the settlement of this
affair be unduly hurried, not only will it
be hard to satisfy the Chinese people that
justice has been done, but I fear that fo-
reigners will also be disappointed. These

are

are the causes which have delayed the settlement of the Tientsin affair.

Many guilty persons are already in custody, among whom ten or more have been proven to be guilty, and will suffer the extreme penalty of the law. I think that their cases will be closed in a few days, and will remove all doubts as to whether anything would be done.

I have thus endeavored to state my difficulties in conducting this affair, both towards my own Government and towards foreign nations; and I hope that your Excellency and all the other foreign Ministers will appreciate the contingencies of my position.

To His Excellency F. F. Low,

U. S. Minister to China.

Dispatch N: 31
Inclosure C

Tungchi, 9e year, 8e moon, 16e day

September 11e 1870.

Prince Kung, chief Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, herewith sends a communication.

I was yesterday honored by receiving the following Decree:-

"Li Hung-chang having been "appointed Governor-General of the "province of Chihli, let him immedi- "ately proceed to Tientsin, and in "conjunction with Tsăng Kwoh-fan, Ting "Jih-chang and Chinglin, inquire into "and manage affairs there. Let Mao "Chang-hi, the president of the Board "of Works, return to Peking and resume "his duties. Respect this."

With

With respect to the Tientsin case, I may observe that during the three months which have passed, Governor-general Tsăng and his colleagues have searched out and arrested more than eighty of the criminals engaged in the riot, and he is now employed in examining them and taking testimony; he will, without doubt, be able to ascertain clearly who are guilty and decide their sentences.

His Excellency Li having received the above order to go to Tientsin, he will join in the inquiry, and hasten the matter, so that there seems now a strong probability that this affair may ere long be brought to a conclusion.

To

To His Excellency

Frederick F. Low

U. S. Minister to China

Ent Pkt

Adv Nov 25 — Ack 29 Nov to Peste

No 32 — 3 Enclosures

DEPARTMENT RECEIVED NOV 25 1870 OF STATE

Frederick F. Low

to

Department of State

Peking September 28. 1870

Encloses correspondence between Admiral Rodgers and himself, and asks opinion of Department upon his construction of the duties of Naval & Diplomatic officers

No 32. 3 Enclosures

Legation of the United States

Peking September 28. 1878

Sir:-

I have the honor to send herewith copies of two letters from Admiral Rodgers to me (enclosures A & B) and my reply thereto (enclosure C); all relating to the disturbed conditions of the country, the danger to which citizens of the United States are exposed, and the duties of the Diplomatic and Naval officers

In view of the possible, if not probable, necessity for prompt action, Hon Hamilton Fish I Secretary of State

I would, most respectfully,
ask the opinion of the
Department upon my
construction of the rights,
duties and obligations, of
Naval and Diplomatic offices
in China

I have the honor to be
Sir,
Your obedient Servant
Frederick F. Low

Despatch 32
Enclosure A

U S S Colorado (flag ship)
Flag ship of Asiatic Fleet
Woosung Feb 16 1870

Sir

I would inform you of my arrival at this anchorage yesterday morning, having been induced to leave Hong Kong in order to be near the localities which have become so interesting from the effects of Chinese intolerance to foreigners

My opinions are that it is my duty to protect American citizens living on shore peaceably in the in==vocable enjoyment of their treaty rights against any mob violence or other illegal exhibitions of force

In the United States, or in Europe, it would be very safe to

absent

appeal for protection to the con-
stituted tribunals of justice;
but in China the course of justice
is little accords with christian
ideas that our citizens should
scarcely be Eligible ever to Chinese
tribunals. By treaty American
citizens are specially reserved
for Consular Courts, where justice
is administered in accordance
with the laws of the United States

The United States have ac-
cired so many favors and so
much protection from foreign
vessels of war that it seems
scarcely desirable to discrim-
inate between our own citizens
and those of European States
with which we are at peace

Indeed

Indeed this Coast is so extensive and our men of war so few that it gives and would invitation as a matter of policy

As far as I have been able to learn the Chinese are little cognizant of the difference between various Christian nationalities, and in any general massacre, Americans think that they would share the fate of Europeans I do not see any means of avoiding sending a force to stop ~~not~~ violence against European citizens when they are living innocently, under treaty guarantee God forbid that I should see the Sisters

of

of Charity tied to stakes, undergoing tortures, stretching forth their hands & me for help, while I sat with folded arms because they were on shore, or because they are not of my nation.

In an onslaught upon Europeans there would probably be no distinction made in favor of Americans, and it would be too late after the Americans were killed, to say that I thought the Chinese would know better. I am equally clear that injuries when done should be left to diplomatic action, or to that which might be indicated by orders from home.

You are at the seat of Government,

Government and see much more than I do; while doubtless I have opportunities of observing the tendency of popular feeling which you at Peking, could not perceive.

The various people of different classes whom I meet think that there is a wide spread dissaffection toward foreigners on the part of the Mandarins and literati, who by hidden means, or partially concealed machinery, are able to carry out their political ends

While all the Nations near to us have undergone radical changes in lapse of ages, decay of science, change of language,

or

or annihilation of nationalities,
China, I am induced to think,
has retained its arts, its writings,
its records, its religion and
habits of thought; and this
proves to me very conclusively
a degree of conservatism and
hatred of change, of which the
Western Nations can have little
idea. For the long course
of time during which it is
said that China has retained
its language, its manners, its
religion, dating for five thousand
years, there must have been
many invasions of new ideas,
apparently, to the Chinese mind
as formidable as the one which
now threatens them in the shape
of

of christianity, telegraphs, rail-roads, steamboats and modern civilization.

As China has successfully resisted those innovations which must have been attempted in these five thousand years, it remains to be seen whether she will be successful in resisting Western habits of thought and modes of action

I incline to the opinion of the community which surrounds me, that a large number of the people of the influential classes in China look upon Western civilization with the deepest abhorrence, and they foresee that if this Western civilization

civilization prevails, it will
modify their form of Government
change text-books, alter habits
of thought, and living; set
them adrift, in a word, upon
upon a wide sea of innovation,
whose storms and whose bounds
no one can define

Thy duty now, is plain
relation seems clear It is
to defend against violence
treaty rights by our laws, the
supreme laws; but after
violence is consummated
then to await the orders of
my Government

In this course of action
I hope you will agree with me
I should be exceedingly
pleased

pleased to meet you and to
learn when you think the
force at my disposal may
be most usefully employed
In consequence of much
bad weather which we met
on our passage out to China
the "Colorado" squadron Calking
and some other repairs, small
though important, which I
hope will be completed by the
time I have the pleasure to
hear from you
I have the honor to
(Sgd) John Rodgers
Rear admiral &c
To His Excellency
H. H. Low
Minister &c

Despatch 32
Enclosure B

U.S.S. Colorado

Canton Oct. 16. 1860

Dear Sir:

As advised in my despatch of yesterdays date I have at last arrived in China and find myself, in the midst of a population excited at the threatened onslaught upon foreigners

You may possibly remember that when we met in Washington I somewhat doubted whether China would march as quietly, and cheerfully in the paths which treaties pointed out, as the Burlingame treaties induced, our Government to hope. Nothing that one hears

hear from the people whom
I must endeavor me to think,
that the Chinese look with
any patience upon the
threatened revolution which
Western ideas must cause;
and in view of disturbances
which have already occurred
and of troubles apprehended,
I should be pleased to know
how far we and the other
European Nations are embarked
in the same boat with France?
How far discrimination will
be made by the Chinese in favor
of Americans!

I should be especially
pleased to know whether, in
your opinion, there is any
necessity

necessity for keeping a Vessel of War at Tientsin during the approaching winter, when she will be reduced by the frozen river to a simple floating block-house with a small garrison

The French Admiral has applied to his Government for instructions in regard to wintering gun-boats at Tientsin.

I am so far off and the season is so advanced that I cannot receive instructions from home soon enough to act upon them and must therefore rely in my decision as to the matter upon such information as I may obtain I am &c

(Sgd) John Rodgers
Rear Admiral &c

To
H. B. M. Sous
Minister &c

Despatch 32
Enclosure C

Legation of the U States
Peking Feb 27 1870

Admiral:-

I have the honor to acknowledge the reception last evening of your despatches of 15th and 16th instant, and to hasten to reply by the outgoing Courier of today. And, first permit me to offer you my congratulations upon your safe arrival, and to say that, I congratulate myself, as the Representative of the United States, as well as all our citizens, upon having at this particular time our Rear Admiral offici

John Rodgers

Com'dg Asiatic Squadron

Despatch 32
Enclosure C

Legation of the U States
Peking Sept 27 1870

Admiral:-

I have the honor to acknowledge the reception last evening of your despatches of 15th and 16th instant, and to hasten to reply by the outgoing Courier of today. And, first permit me to offer you my congratulations upon your safe arrival, and to say that, I congratulate myself, as the Representative of the United States, as well as all our citizens, upon having at this particular time our Rear Admiral officer

John Rodgers

Comdg Asiatic Squadron

officer in command of the
Asiatic Squadron of such
ability, long experience and
sound judgment, as yourself,
Believing, as I do, that a
good understanding and
cordial cooperation between
the Naval Commanders and
the Diplomatic Representatives
in Oriental Countries are es-
sential, it will be my pleasure,
as it will be my duty,
to communicate with you
with the utmost freedom, and
with entire frankness, on all
matters where our joint action
may be necessary for the
protection and welfare of the
interests of the United States

or

or of their Citizens resident in China

I have not time to day, nor is it necessary for me now, to refer to the political topics mentioned in your despatches. At some future time I may take occasion to refer to them and give you my views thereon, and perhaps I shall have the pleasure of meeting with you soon and conferring with you personally.

Your views respecting the duties imposed upon you in affording protection to American citizens, and foreigners generally, appear to me sound; but as much depends upon the circumstances

circumstances that surround each particular case that comes up for action, that it is next to impossible to lay down any, except the most general, rules for a guide

In case of a threatened or actual outbreak at any place in China, where any of your Squadron are, it would, I conceive, be your duty to afford all the protection possible to all foreigners against violence to their persons or property. Riots and mobs, whether they be sudden uprisings, or whether they be secretly instigated and

and promoted by local officials, are unlawful proceedings, which the Government of China has agreed by solemn treaty to protect foreign residents against; and when the Government is either unable or unwilling to fulfil its treaty obligations in this regard, it becomes the duty of Foreign Nations to afford protection to their citizens and subjects, through their land and Naval forces

In doing this great prudence is necessary Protection is quite a different thing from revenge or retaliation. It is my duty and

and I conceive it to be given also, to afford protection to American citizens; but it is reserved for the President, to say what shall be the measure of redress or retaliation, in case of wrong, and the manner of its enforcement.

In reply to your inquiry:—"how far an one "and the other European Nation "embarked in the same boat "with France;—I have to say that, as Representative of the United States I have considered it my duty to give all the moral support possible to the Representative of France in his general demands for

for the punishment of the instigators of, and the actors in, the late British tragedy at Tientsin, in which so many lives were lost and so much property was destroyed — mostly French.

The interest and welfare of all foreigners in China are so intimately connected and intermingled, that the sacrifice of one is peril to all, In this view I have conceived it to be the right as well as the duty of all Treaty Powers to insist upon the just punishment of those engaged in the massacre as a measure of protection to

them

their citizens and subjects

In this opinion there has been the most entire harmony and accord between the Foreign Representatives; and now, that France is without prestige or power, it behooves other Nations, to exert their influence all the more in the direction I have indicated

So far as the specific measures for redress which France may demand — apology for the outrages and) compensation for the property destroyed, as well as recompense for the families of the victims of the Massacre &c — that remains to be adjusted)

Delivered

between France and China alone, in which I shall decline to interfere or take part unless my good offices shall be sought by one or both of the nations interested.

In case of hostilities growing out of a disagreement in the settlement of these specific claims, I should, in the absence of specific instructions, consider it my duty to refrain from active participation on either side.

As to the necessity of the "Ashuelot" remaining at Tientsin during the Winter I am unable to give you a definite opinion as

this

this moment I hope to
see my way clearer a week
or two days hence, and then
I shall be able to give you
a better and more decided
opinion But in any
event I must urgently re-
-quest that she remain
at or near Tientsin until
the approach of Winter

The Missionaries
at Tungchow, near Chefoo,
became alarmed by the
threatening rumors and
removed on the 1st instant
to this latter place I
think, from what I can
learn, they will be satisfied
of their safety, and return

to return soon. As they were taken away in a British ship-of-war I am anxious, for the moral effect it would work, that they should return in an American ship-of-war, when they go, and have so informed them

I am under the impression that the "Monocacy" will be there soon. Am I correct?

In regard to the disposition of your forces, about which you ask my opinion, I can only repeat what I wrote you prior to your arrival; that a vessel on the Sangtze River between Hankow and Shinkiang

and

and another at or near Tientsin, seem to me absolutely necessary. This would leave the flag ships and the two Corvettes for service on the Coast, wherever their services might be needed, or in Japan

If we have trouble it will be likely to come in places near Peking or one the Yangtze, where there are but a handful of foreigners At the Ports on the sea coast where there are shipping and a large number of foreigners I do not look for trouble

If the "Colorado"

needs

needs repairs, why cannot you transfer your flag to the Benicia temporarily and come up to Chefoo, and there come on yourself, to Tientsin and Peking? The fact of your coming to Chefoo would give courage and comfort to the Missionaries, and let the Chinese know that they were being looked after; and if you could come on to Tientsin and Peking you would be able to form a better opinion of the condition of affairs and be better prepared to decide what is best to do. I would go to Chefoo to meet you

but

but my presence here
seems absolutely necessary
and beside my absence
from Peking now, would
be misconstrued by the Mis-
sionaries and others residing
here and add to their ex-
-citement and alarm

I have the honor to be
Admiral
Your obedient Servant
Frederick F. Low

Ent 16/1

Ack'd Nov 29

Mr. Bates + Mr. Payson

DEPARTMENT RECEIVED NOV 25 1870 OF STATE

Dispatch No: 33

One Inclosure

Frederick F. Low
to Department of State.

Peking, September 29. 1870

Subject.

Sends a copy of the Reports on Trade at the Treaty Ports in China for the year 1869, published by order of the Inspector General, with a commendatory notice of the documents contained in it.

Legation of the United States,
Peking, September 29. 1870

Sir,

Referring to my dispatch of 10th June, No 8, inclosing a copy of the Returns of Trade for 1869, I have now the honor to send you a copy of the Reports on Trade at the Treaty Ports for 1869, which has been furnished me by Mr Hart, the Inspector-general.

The remarks in the former dispatch showing the care bestowed upon the preparation of the Returns, apply also to this volume of Reports. Nothing that was reliable and particular had been known of the mode and extent of the internal traffic of China, until the issue of these annual Reports; and the present is in many points the most satisfactory of the series. I would call your attention to the reports

from

Hon. H. Fish.
Secretary of State.

from the Commissioners at Ningpo and Kiukiang, and the suggestions at the end for the revision of the tariff. This document by Mr Dick is the result of long experience, and commends itself to the attention of all who shall be charged with the revision of trade regulations. He shows the gradual increase of trade in the interior, and how the systematic management of the customs' service by foreigners has had a salutary effect on the native service. The facts given relating to the growth and trade in opium are instructive, showing how the monopoly in India is beginning to work out its own destruction by developing the cultivation in China, which unhappily is likely to extend the preparation of the article wider than ever.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your Obedient Servant,

Frederick F Low

7

Encl
Emo

Advt - hope there no future difficulties will arise - but to suggest on the subject the neutrality of the Treaty ports spoken of in Annexure

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
RECEIVED
DEC 28 1870

Seen D 21 Jany Mr Bonte

No 374 1 Enclosure

Advtd 20th Jany 1871.

Frederick F Low

to

Department of State

Peking October 20 1870

Enclosing copy of a note from the Foreign Office with reference to the Missionary troubles at Tungchow, and giving it as his opinion that the Missionaries can now safely return

No 34 1 Enclosure

Legation of the United States
Peking October 20. 1870

Sir:-

Referring to my dispatches
No^s 29 and 31 I now have
the honor to enclose translation
of a note received from the
Foreign Office with reference
to the trouble at Tungchow
which caused the removal
of the Missionaries. You
will observe in the communi-
-nication of the Governor of
Shantung to the Government
Hon Hamilton Fish late
Secretary of State

here — quoted in the Note to me — that he admits the prevalence of the hostile rumors which created alarm in the minds of the Missionaries, and that he and the other local officials deemed them of sufficient importance to cause stringent measures to be adopted to restrain the people from violence in consequence of these reports He says that now all is quiet, and that all danger of a disturbance is over Without placing implicit confidence in the assurances of these officials, I am inclined

inclined to believe, from all the testimony that comes from there, that the Missionaries can now return to their homes without fear of molestation, and have so informed them.

They were still at Chifoo when last I heard from them, waiting the arrival of one of our Vessels-of-war on which to return. They appear to be entirely satisfied of their safety; and if a United States Naval Vessel does not soon make its appearance, they will return by some other mode of conveyance

The

The effect of the temporary removal of these people appears to have had a contrary effect from that anticipated.

Instead of endeavoring to keep them away, the officials of all grades have exhibited anxiety for their return — proffering protection and assurances of safety in case they did,

Whether there was real danger sufficient to justify their removal may be questioned.

But, whether there was or not, their removal and the steps that have been taken in consequence of it, appear to have convinced the officials

that

that the treaty rights of residence cannot be evaded or denied with impunity, and, as a consequence, I believe their residence will be more secure, and their influence for good greater, in the future than it has been hitherto

I have the honor to be
Sir,
Your obedient servant
Frederick F. Low

Dispatch 34
Inclosure A

Note from the Foreign Office, intimating that the missionaries can retain to Tăngchau

October 13. 1870

We have the honor to state, in reference to the interview with your Excellency on the 12th of last month; and also to the dispatch in which you stated that, owing to rumors circulated in Tăngchau about the transfer of troops from Tsi-nan to that place, Mr. Mateer and the other missionaries had gone aboard ship and removed to Chifu for a time, and were in doubt when or whether they could return; to which we replied that the story about troops being brought in to destroy the missionaries was a fabrication, and they might make themselves quite easy upon that score, —

that

that we immediately wrote to the Governor of Shantung province most strictly to enjoin on all his subordinates to repress these rumors, and take measures to quell every disturbance within his jurisdiction.

On the 9th inst., we received a dispatch from the Governor in which he says: "The news of the riot in Tientsin was — "circulated throughout this province, as it "adjoins that region, and of course there "were persons availing themselves of it "to raise rumors. I at once issued strict "orders to all officials to keep a careful — "watch and restraint on the people, and "had the Intendant of Tangchau and Lai- "chau Circuit issue a notification to the "soldiers and inhabitants of those places,

"that

"that whoever circulated seditious reports
"for the purpose of creating disturbances, -
"would be instantly arrested and severely
"punished. He moreover detailed special
"officers daily to keep the peace among the
"people, so that now all the converts and
"others connected with the missionaries are
"everywhere quiet, and the rumors have
"all died away. It may be advisable to
"inform the foreign Ministers at Peking
"of this that they may inform the mis-
"sionaries that there is no ground for
"apprehending any disturbance at this
"time; and if they should hear disturbing
"rumors, let them immediately inform
"the local authorities of the same."

This information contained in the Governor's reply is now made known to

your

your Excellency for any action which you may deem proper, and sent with wishes for your daily prosperity

Cards of Pao-yun

Tung Siun

Chin Kwei-fän

Mao Chang-hi

Tsungtun

Encl
No 1 to No 35

Advt
Jany 4

Mr Pratt

7 Enclosures

recd 20th Jany 1871.

Frederick F. Low

to

Department of State

Peking October 25 1870

Enclosing copy of joint note to Prince
Kung in reference to punishment of criminals
at Tientsin; copies of Imperial Decrees
upon the same subject, and a copy of
the report of the French Consul giving
information about the execution of
sixteen of the rioters; also announcing
the contemplated departure of Chunghow for France

FOREIGN Relations '71

No 35 . . 7 Enclosures

Legation of the United States
Peking October 25 1870

Sir:-

In my No 31 of the 26th of September you were informed that the Chargé d'Affaires of France had called his colleagues together and made known to them the punishment which this Government proposed to inflict upon those who were engaged in the massacre at Tientsin He also stated that, at the time the communication was made he was asked, in rather an imperious manner, Hon Hamilton Fish if Secretary of State

if the propositions was satisfactory

His reply, as stated to his colleagues, was; that in the present disturbed condition of his country he did not feel at liberty to speak for the Government of France on so grave a matter, and that, as the punishment of the guilty had such a direct bearing upon the security of all foreign residents, it would in every respect desirable for him to assemble his colleagues and solicit their opinions before making any reply to the question submitted.

The manner in which the propositions were made,

and

and the fact that all
Rochechouart had — unwisely
as I thought — made known
to the officials, in advance,
his intention of submitting
the question to his colleagues,
left no other course open
for them to pursue except to
express their approval or
disapproval without qualification
or explanation. In view
of these considerations it was
deemed advisable for the
Representations of Great Britain,
Russia, Prussia and the
United States, to address a
joint note to Prince Kung,
expressing their dissent from
the conclusions to which the
Government

Government had arrived as to the proper measure of the punishment which was necessary to inflict for such a crime; leaving it to the Chinese to decide what, if any, further action it might be proper and expedient for them to take. A copy of the joint note is herewith enclosed (enclosure A)

To this Prince Kung replied (enclosure B) intimating that the investigations and trials were closed, and that, as soon as the sentences were formally pronounced, the result would be officially communicated to all the

Legations

Legations. We also begged to assure us that ample protection would be afforded to all foreign residents

The two Imperial Decrees (enclosures C and D) confirming the sentences of the criminals and ordering them to be carried into effect immediately, and my reply acknowledging their receipt, (enclosure E) also accompany this

As a measure of precaution against a recurrence of trouble at Tientsin during the approaching Winter, the Governor-general has been ordered by the Emperor

(enclosure

(enclosure F) to remain there until further orders; and to learn, unofficially, of the contemplated removal of the Capital of the Province from Pao-ting-fu to Tientsin, so that the Chief Magistrate of the Province will be more accessible in case of real or apprehended trouble, and thus be able to procure a better understanding between natives and foreigners.

The report of the acting French Consul at Tientsin, of which the Chargé d'affaires has kindly allowed me to take a copy, (enclosure G) will furnish you with full particulars

particulars of the execution of sixteen criminals, and the state of feeling resulting from it. He also gives his opinion as to the effect which these convictions and executions are likely to produce upon the people generally which, I regret to say, differ widely from what I had hoped. I trust the effect will be better than he anticipates. But whatever may be the result in Teneriffe and in its immediate vicinity, I am persuaded that the knowledge that these criminals have been punished will add to the security of foreigners in places more remote from the scene of their trial and execution.

The

The remaining four under sentence of death, were convicted of the murder of the two Russians. Their execution is, I am informed, delayed at the special request of the Russian Consul-General in the hope that their testimony may be useful in the conviction of others charged with complicity in the massacre

A careful review of all that has transpired in connection with this affair:— the timidity and vascillation of the officials; the delay and uncertainty attending the arrest and trial of the offenders, the fear of trouble and riotous proceedings

ab

at their execution, the extreme caution exercised in the preparation for and the secrecy of the execution, — illustrates, most painfully, the weakness of the Government when called upon to perform a duty in opposition to public opinion, and enables somewhat of a just estimate to be made of the embarassments which surround the Prince and his associates in their dealings with foreign nations.

The natural result of this is, I am led to view their action, — or rather inaction — with more leniency than those do who know less of the —

difficulties

difficulties with which the
members of the Foreign Office
have to contend

Chinghow, who was
some time since appointed
Ambassador to France, for
the purpose of offering a
suitable apology, and
affording such reparation
as might be reasonably
demanded, is making
preparations for his
departure. Before he
leaves I expect to be placed
in possession of a copy
of his instructions and
the substance of the
propositions which he will
be authorized to make to

the

the Government of France
in satisfaction for the outrages
committed at Tientsin, which
will be forwarded in a
future despatch

I have the honor to be

Sir,

Your obedient servant

Frederick F. Low

Dispatch N° 35
Inclosure A

Peking Sept 24. 1870

Sir:-

The undersigned Representatives of the United States, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia, have the honor to inform Your Imperial Highness that M de Rochechouart, as he took yesterday to the Yamên to state was his intention, has assembled his Colleagues, for the purpose of communicating to us the measures of punishment which Your Imperial Highness has informed him the Government is about to award to the Mandarins and people engaged in or connected To His Imperial Highness with the Prince Kung

with the Massacre at Tientsin

We conceive it to be our duty without loss of time to state to Your Imperial Highness that we regard the decision arrived at, after three months delay, as utterly unsatisfactory, whether with reference to the atrocity of the 21st June in particular, or the general question of security in which all foreigners in China are interested

The undersigned seize with eagerness this occasion to renew to Your Imperial Highness the assurances of our respectful consideration

Peking 24th September 1870

(Signed) Rehfues

Minister for North Germany

(") Fredrick F. Low

Minister for the United States

(") Eugi Butzow

Chargé d' affaires for Russia

(") Thomas Francis Wade

Chargé d' affaires for Great Britain

Dispatch N°. 35
Inclosure B

Tungchi. 9th year. 9th moon. 3d. day
September 27th. 1870.

Prince Kung. chief Secretary for Foreign Affairs. herewith sends a reply.

I had the honor to receive the joint note of the 24th. inst. addressed to me by your Excellencies. in which you state that M. Rochechouart. Chargé d'affaires of France. had informed you at a meeting which he had called for general consultation. of the decision which had been come to in regard to the punishment of the murderers in June last. of the French officials and subjects at Tientsin; and that you consider this decision.

decision, reached three months after the events, as entirely unsatisfactory, and very far from giving that assurance of general security to all foreigners living in China which they require.

You are already aware that His Majesty appointed Tsäng Kwohfan, then Governor-general of this province, and others with him, to secretly search out and arrest the persons concerned in the riot, and execute those who had been tried and found guilty of murder; and also to take the depositions of the prefect and magistrate of Tientsin, who were so remiss in their duty, with all the evidence that could be obtained, and send it with the prisoners to the Board of Punishments, where they would be tried

and

and sentenced: All this surely is proof that He wishes to act with strict justice in the matter.

The safety of foreigners residing in China will also be assured; – for the people everywhere will notice how the murderers at Tientsin have been dealt with, and will not be desirous to experience the last penalty of the law on their own bodies; while local officials in every place will mark how those at Tientsin have been arrested and punished for their remissness in duty, and take warning to prevent like excesses.

When their cases and all relating to this affair are settled, His Majesty will issue a general Mandate to all the high

high provincial officers to strictly enjoin on every local magistrate to protect the foreigners, so that hereafter it is to be hoped that they and the natives can live together peaceably. As soon as the cases of the prisoners are concluded, and I have received the Commands of the Emperor, I will again communicate with your Excellencies.

To

Baron Rehfues

Minister of North German Confed.

Hon. Frederick F Low,

Minister of the United States.

Eug. Butzow,

Russian Chargé d'Affairs,

Thomas F. Wade C.B.

British Chargé d'Affairs

Dispatch N°: 35
Inclosure — d

Tungchi, 9th year 9th moon, 11th day
October 5th 1870

Prince Kung, chief Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, herewith makes a communication.

The following Imperial Decree has this day been received:—

When the quarrel arose at Tientsin between the citizens and the Roman Catholics, the prefect Chang Kwang-tsao, and the district magistrate Lin Kieh, neither took any precautionary measures to guard against the outbreak, nor exerted themselves after it occurred to speedily arrest the guilty persons concerned in it; in consequence of which orders were then transmitted to degrade them both, and deliver them to the Board of Punishments for trial and condemnation. Subsequent to this, Tsäng Kwoh-fan and his colleagues, having taken their depositions in full, sent them to the custody of that Board at Peking.

The

The officers in this Tribunal have now reported upon their case, saying, The statutes provide that when seditious people stir up a riot, the civil officers who cannot suppress it and allay the discontent, are to be degraded; if their offense is aggravated, they are to be banished to the army and subjected to hard labor. As the circumstances of this case are very serious, the Board requests particular Orders as to the increased sentence to be inflicted upon them.

Seeing that these two magistrates were intrusted with the government of the city of Tientsin, and when the people gathered in crowds ready for a riot, they were inefficient in taking any measures to restrain them, so that the mob seized their opportunity to set fire to houses and kill and wound many people; and afterwards, did nothing efficient to immediately seize the guilty actors: their criminality, under all the circumstances, is exceedingly great. Furthermore, after their degradation, and

when

when they knew that the Decree delivering them to the Board of Punishments for meting out their doom, had been issued: the prefect Chang had the presumption to skulk off to Shuntch (in the south of the province), and the district-magistrate Liu to slip away to Mihyun (near the Great Wall), both thereby intending to prolong the matter, and making their contemptuous effrontery more manifest. Let both of them be banished to [Tsitsihar in] the region of the Amoor River, there to expiate their crimes by hard labor, as a signal warning to law-breakers.

The people of Tientsin not only have cherished groundless suspicion and stirred up animosity in disregard of their authorities to be quiet, but suddenly went to such a daring length as to kill more than twenty persons; and what was still more atrocious, brutally murdered the Sisters of Charity in their Asylum. Tsäng Kwohfan and his colleagues have seized the guilty participators in the riot, and

after

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after

after clearly ascertaining the degree of their guilt, have sentenced Fung and fourteen others to death, and Wang and twenty others to banishment to the army. Since these sentences accord with the crimes, let them now be carried into effect. Let Fung and the others be immediately executed; and Wang and his party sent by couples to different places of banishment. These severe sentences being carried out, let the local authorities throughout the provinces issue the most peremptory orders to the people to observe the laws, and not again stir up riots. Whatever may arise that concerns both natives and foreigners, let it be managed with justice, and settled according to treaty stipulations. It is henceforth to be hoped that they will both, of whatever calling they may be, now live amicably together, and that the land will be quiet everywhere. Respect this.

I have now the honor to send the above to your Excellency for your information.

To His Excellency Frederick F. Low,
U. S. Minister to China.

Dispatch N: 35
Inclosure D

Tungchi, 9th year, 9th moon, 16th day
October 10: 1870.

Prince Kung, chief Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, herewith makes a communication.

I have already informed your Excellency that a Decree was received on the 6th inst., in relation to the Tientsin affair, in which it was ordered that the severe sentence on the prefect and district magistrate should be strictly carried into effect; that Fung and others, fifteen in all, who stirred up the riot, be executed; and that Wang - and twenty others be banished to different regions.

I

I was honored by receiving a second Decree yesterday upon the same matter:- "Tsäng Kwoh-fan and his col. "leagues report that they have further "examined persons implicated in the riot "at Tientsin, and have sentenced them "according to their guilt. These persons "were arrested after the others, and a list "of their names has been sent up, with "particulars of the trial, and degrees of "punishment to be inflicted. These deci. "sions are approved. Let Liu and the "other four be summarily executed; and "Täng and the other three be sent into "banishment to different places. Res. "pect this."

With the punishment of these men now arrested in addition, the cabinet ministers

ministers Tsäng Kwohfan and Li Hung-
chang report that the trial and sentence
[of persons connected with the riot] has
been brought to a close; and my object
in this communication is to inform you
of the same.

To His Excellency
Frederick F. Low
U. S. Minister to China

Dispatch 35
Inclosure E

Legation of the United States,
Peking, October 17. 1870

To His Imperial Highness Prince Kung,

&c &c &c

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Highness' two dispatches of the 5th and 10th inst., the contents of which I have carefully noted. In the first you mention the reception of an Imperial Decree in relation to the riot at Tientsin, ordering that the prefect Chang Kwang-tsao and the district-magistrate Liu Kieh be banished to the region of the Amoor to toilsomely work out their time; that Fung with fourteen others be executed; and Wang

and

and twenty others be banished to different regions: - in the second, you state that another Decree has been received condemning Liu and four others, since arrested, to death, and Tăng and his fellows five in all to banishment.

The sentences on the criminals connected with the dreadful tragedy at Tientsin, involving the loss of many lives and producing momentous consequences, must necessarily be reported to the President of the United States, for his information; and when I have received his instructions upon the matter, I shall again address your Imperial Highness.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your Highness'

Obedient Servant,

Frederick F. Low

Dispatch 35
Inclosure E

Tungchi, 9th year, 9th moon, 18th day.
October 12, 1870

Prince Kung, chief Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, herewith makes a communication.

I have been this day honored by receiving the following Decree:-

"Let Li Hsung-chang still remain "at Tientsin, and Not hasten his return to "Pao-ting fu (the provincial capital), as "it is important for him to attend to "every detail connected with the "pacification and repression of dis- "order there in order to firmly settle "the whole affair; which when done, "both in relation to foreigners as well

"as

"as natives. let him report for further
"instructions. Respect this."

In conformity to usage I now send this for your Excellency's information

To His Excellency
Frederick F Low
U. S Minister to China

Dispatch N: 35
Inclosure – G

Copy of a dispatch from the Acting French Consul at Tientsin to the French Chargé d'affaires, describing the executions of 16 criminals –

October 19. 1870

With reference to your dispatch No 29 of the 15th inst, I have the honor to report that, the Senior Officer of the French Navy here having expressed himself much averse to the Landing of any one but a Commissioned officer to witness the execution of the Criminals now under sentence of death for the murders of the 21st June, we, after Consultation with each other, decided that it was best in view of the

importance

importance of the affair, to depute one of the commanders of the Gun-boats stationed here and Mr Interpreter Prater to be present on the occasion.

The whole subject of the proceedings at the execution was then discussed at an interview between the Prefect and myself yesterday. He informed me that it was the desire of the Gover-nor-general, as there was a possibility of a disturbance taking place among the already excited population, that the sentence of death should be carried into execution before sunrise today. The Prefect insisted on the necessity of the

French

French officer and the Prater
proceeding to the Shot during the
night and in small chairs, under
a guard of 50 men which he would
supply; and he hoped the atten-
tion of the crowd, which would
be composed, notwithstanding the
early hour, of weeping friends
and relatives and numerous
rowdies, would not be attrac-
-ted to them. I objected to
these two officers proceeding
in this undignified mode
decried by him, and told him
that I should not send any
one to an execution that was
to take place in the dark.
He still maintained the necessity
of putting the criminals to death
at

at the time named; and after some discussion, during which the Bifech gave unmistakable proofs of excitement, having shown itself to a large extent among the people for the last three or four days on account of the intended fate of these men, and did not conceal from me that the Governor-general was afraid of serious disturbance

I said that I would send no one to the execution under the present proposed arrangements, but that I should leave the whole matter to be settled by the Governor-general as he pleased. I added, however, that I wished to have some proofs of the

reality

reality of the executions supplied to me. These the Prefect thought might be afforded by the spectacle of the coffined remains, and he invited me to send some one to inspect them after the execution was over.

He also asked whether a formal despatch from the Superintendent of Trade announcing the fact of the decapitation having taken place would be received by me as evidence. This I consented to accept.

The Prefect said he was glad that his presence would not be required at the executions, and confessed that he himself would be afraid to go in any case.

Before

Before leaving, the Prefect informed me that it was actually true that money payments were being made to the relatives of the men condemned to death, but that the sums were raised by public subscriptions

I had previously directed Mr Frater (the Interpreter) to call in the early part of the day on the Prefect and arrange about the presence of the French naval officer and himself at the execution, and to tell the Prefect, in my name, that it was expected of the Chinese authorities that steps would be taken to secure foreigners from molestation and insult

The

The Prefect thought it right
to retire with Mr Prater into
a private room, where, after
the expulsion of all the domes-
-tics and official attendants,
who were ordered to retire, he
conversed on everything relating
to the execution in a whisper,
and even then kept starting
now and again, thinking some
one was engaged in listening
The reason of his conduct
was a fear that a distrust
of the people of Tientsin felt
by all the authorities, which
he had to communicate to
Mr Prater, would leak out
The Prefect, in fact, felt ever ill
at ease in his own Yamen

(Office)

(office) that he at last desired that the discussion of this subject of the Execution might be transferred to this Consulate, whither he proceeded for that purpose shortly afterwards, and this led to the above-mentioned interview I had with him

In the night time I sent one of the Consular Messengers to Trieste, and instructed him to take note of what took on at the executions, and to bring back with him, if possible, the Death-Warrants attached to the bodies of the criminals, an inspection of which would furnish me with the names of the persons actually hung

to

to death. Mr Frater and the messenger his official card to be used in the event of his being driven back by the police The messenger made a greater use of it than was intended, for by means of it he made his way to the Dietrich Magistrates' Yamen (office) before the criminals were brought out of jail, and saw the whole proceedings from that time till their deaths. He has reported to me that about 200 police and soldiers escorted them from the jail to the District Magistrate's court room, where they were marshalled, 16 in all None of them

them would kneel to be bound when ordered to do so. They were all dressed in what is everywhere stated to be a Government present, viz: neat silk clothes, and wore on their feet shoes of elegant manufacture. Their hair was dressed after the female fashion, in various modes, and ornaments such as those seen on the heads of Chinese ladies were stuck in their head-dresses. While in the Court room one of them vociferated abuse of the Hoie-Tai, who had probably caused his arrest to be made.

On the way to the execution ground the criminals bawled to

to the crowds, which even at that early hour in the morning had collected, "have we changed countenance"? and were answered immediately that they had not. They also accused the Chinese authorities of selling their heads to the foreigners, and called out to the people to honor them by the name of "brave boys", which was done by the united voices of the crowds.

A large number of the personal friends and relatives of the condemned followed them along, giving vent to tears and lamentations. On the arrival of the procession at the execution ground outside the

West

west gate the criminals com-
-menced singing, on hearing
which the presiding Magistrate,
the Fiat-sing-Hsien, gave the
order for their decapitation.
The criminals thereupon
stretched out their necks to
receive the blow and the ex-
-ecutioners 5 or 6 in number,
all of whom were southern
soldiers, soon finished the
proceedings This occurred
about 5.30 A.M. The
ground was kept by numer-
-ous soldiers The Consular
messenger was allowed to
pick up the 16 Death Warrants
and to bring them away; and
I now have them in my

possession

possession

The men who murdered the Russians were not, I believe, among those who suffered

The execution has passed off more placidly than I expected, and this is probably owing to the secret nature of the arrangements made by the Chinese authorities From all that I have heard lately, the death of the murderers is not likely to impress the public mind, and will probably only darken their resentments against foreigners There is no doubt but that the men

who

who have been put to death have received, in the eyes of the populace - and I am afraid, if all the reports that have been made to me are true, in the eyes of the authorities also, - the fate of Martyrs.

(Signed) W. H. Laij